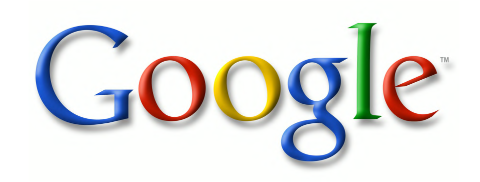
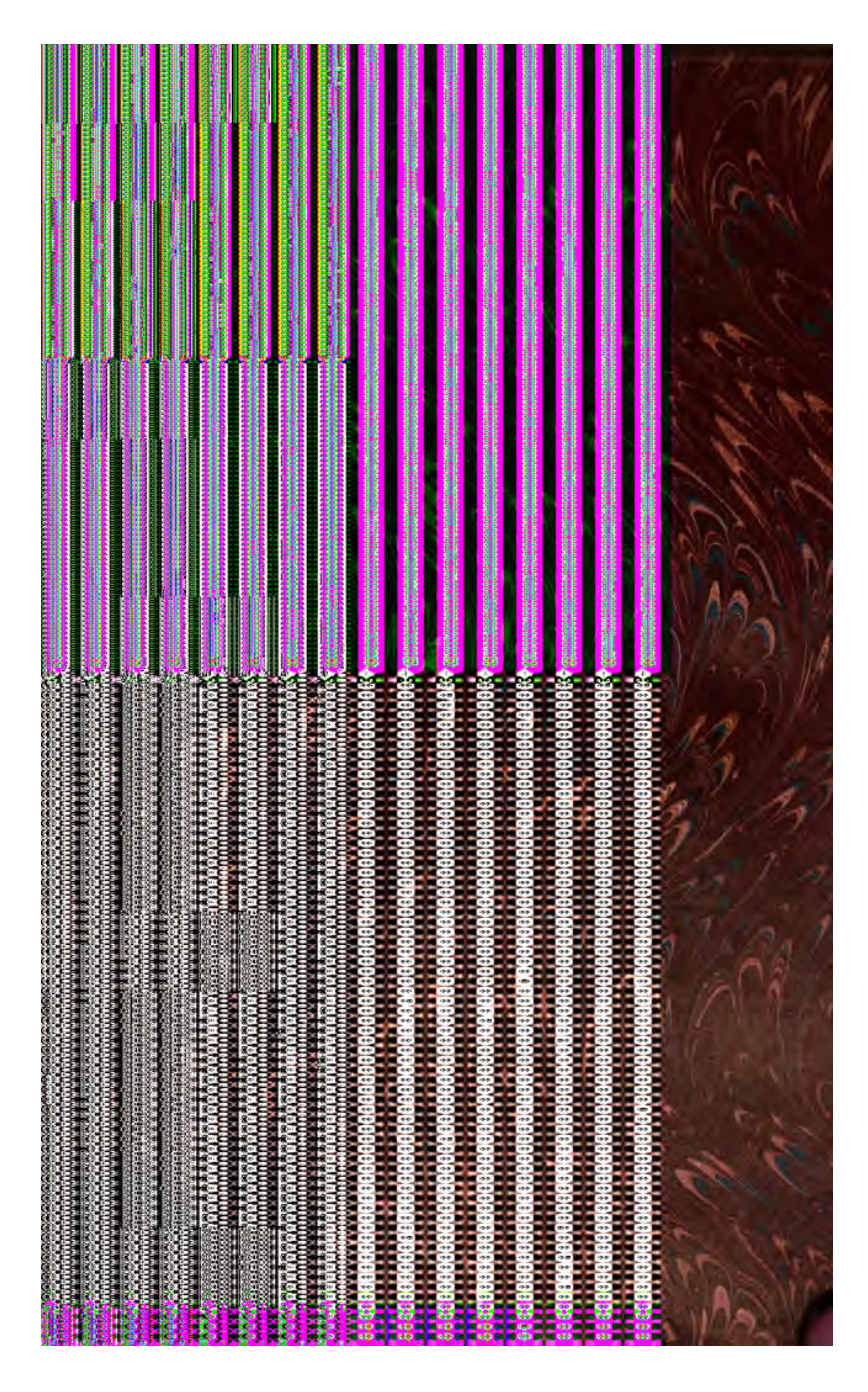




EVILL FORBES
XFORD 1907.

RUSSIA

UNDER

THE AUTOCRAT,

NICHOLAS THE FIRST.

BY

IVAN GOLOVINE,

A RUSSIAN SUBJECT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,
GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET,
1846.

LONDON:
HARRISON AND CO., PRINTERS,
ST. MARTIN'S LANE.



RUSSIA

UNDER

NICHOLAS THE FIRST.

Chapter I.

OF THE CLASSES OF THE PEOPLE.

OF THE NOBILITY.

There are two kinds of nobility in Russia—hereditary nobility and personal nobility. The first is acquired by the rank of officer in the army; in the civil service, down to the eighth class, which is equivalent to the rank of major. It may be conferred by the Emperor, and is

also attached to certain orders that are bestowed on personal nobles or members of the clergy. Traders were excluded from this prerogative by the decree of the 30th of October, 1826.

Military officers, on passing into the civil service with a rank inferior to the eighth class, retain their rights of hereditary nobles.

Children born before the promotion of their father to the hereditary nobility are noble whenever the father acquires nobility by a rank or by an order. If he receives it by the favour of the Emperor, it must be specially indicated in the grant whether it is to extend to the children previously born. He whose father and grandfather have served, each for at least twenty years, in ranks which confer personal nobility, has a right to hereditary nobility.

The latter is divided into six degrees; 1stly, the nobles with the title of Prince, Count, and Baron; 2ndly, the ancient noble families; 3rdly, the military nobles; 4thly, the nobles of the

eighth class; 5thly, the nobles of imperial creation; 6thly, foreign nobles.

Personal nobility is attached, in the civil service, to the ranks below the eighth class, or it is conferred by a nomination of the Emperor. The order of St. Stanislaus confers it on members of the Catholic clergy and on Baschkirs.

Of late years, the Emperor Nicholas, with a view to enhance the value of nobility, resolved not to confer it below the fifth class in the civil service; but, by limiting the service of the soldier to fifteen years in the guard, and that of the subaltern to twelve years, he has facilitated the access to the rank of officer, and consequently to hereditary nobility. The examinations of candidates, it is true, are conducted with greater strictness; but the liberty allowed them for a certain time to choose between the epaulette of officer and a pension of from 340 to 500 rubles per annum, has contributed not a little to discredit nobility. The number of those who preferred the money

to being ennobled became so great, that it was found necessary to suppress that arrangement. The access has, moreover, been facilitated to civil degrees by what has been done to favour the advancement of the licentiates of the Universities.

The present institution of the Russian nobility is quite revolutionary. Whether Peter purposed to strengthen his own power, or to raise the people by weakening the nobility, it is not the less certain that he revolutionized the country, and paved the way to the reign of equality. To this end there were two means that might be adopted—either to destroy the rights of the nobility, or to generalize them by rendering them easier of access. He preferred the second oftener than he employed the first; and his successors have ever since adhered to his policy without comprehending its drift.

Nobility has actually sunk in the public opinion; and if it no longer serves for a barrier against power, neither does it furnish a sup-

port to it. Invaded by the people, its foundation has been undermined; and, its wealth melting away from day to day, it is losing the last spell of its power. All its lands are mortgaged to the Crown, and the existence of serfage paralyses the development of wealth. On the day when the people shall have become noble, or when only the number of the nobles has become immense, on that day nobility will have given place to democracy. What will then become of the throne?

The Russian nobility possess the faculty of entering the public service, without being liable to be forced into it, unless by a nominal decree of the Emperor.

The nobles have a right to go abroad with passports, and to enter foreign service with the authorization of the Government; but they are obliged to return home without delay on the first summons.

Every noble retired from the service has a right to wear the uniform of the government in which he is inscribed.

The noble cannot be deprived without trial of life, honour, or property: he must be tried by his *Peers**, and the sentence must be confirmed by the Emperor.

The noble is exempt from all corporal punishment before as well as during the trial, and cannot be subjected to it but for a fact posterior to that which has deprived him of nobility.

The crimes which entail the loss of his rights are treason, robbery, and murder.

The Russian noble is exempt from personal taxes and from the recruiting. His country-houses cannot be occupied by troops.

The hereditary noble has a right to establish on his estates any kind of fabric or manufacture; he may do the same in towns on inscribing himself in a guild. Upon the same condition he is allowed to carry on any sort of commerce.

He may acquire landed property with serfs,

* It is a mockery to call ordinary judges, ennobled *employés*, the peers of ancient nobles.

but he cannot possess serfs without having lands.

Emancipated serfs who have become hereditary nobles, cannot, before the third generation, acquire the lands on which they have themselves been inscribed as serfs; and, in case such an estate should devolve to one of them by inheritance, it must be placed immediately under guardianship, or sold within six months.

With the exception of Tartars anciently settled in the country, none but Christians have a right to possess Christian serfs.

The property of slaves devolving to a personal noble passes to the Crown, which pays a fixed price per *soul*. There are paid, besides, 50 silver rubles for every mother of a family*.

It is obvious that all these rights are negative rather than positive, and give nothing more than what belongs to every man in civi-

* In Russia, the women are not included among the *souls* belonging to nobles.

lized countries*. It required nothing short of the simplicity of Russian legislation to enumerate in its codes rights such as those which we have just specified. Accordingly, they cannot, with the progress of civilization, continue to be the exclusive appanage of a class; time will completely annul them. The distinctions of free men and serfs once abolished, the privileges of the nobles will be done away with, and become the patrimony of the entire nation, as they are of humanity.

"The rights of the nobility," said one day a celebrated Russian Professor, who might have been a distinguished writer, as well as he has since become a high functionary—"the rights of the Russian nobility consist in entering the service, if they are pleased to admit him into it; in leaving it, if he is allowed to do so; in

* The meanest rag-gatherer in France can take service if he chooses, leave it when he likes, go abroad with a passport; he may, if he has the means, purchase negroes in the colonies; he is exempt from corporal punishments, and he cannot be punished without trial.

going abroad, if he can obtain a passport; in purchasing landed property, if he has the money." And these rights are the same for the descendants of Rurick and of Guidemine, and for the latest upstart.

The nobility of each government forms a separate body, and has the faculty of assembling, to consult upon its common interests. Assemblies of this kind are held by governments or by districts, and they are ordinary or extraordinary.

The ordinary assemblies, for governments, are held every three years, habitually from the month of December to that of January: those of the districts three months before.

The right of sitting in these assemblies, with a deliberative voice, belongs to the hereditary nobles who have at least 100 peasants or 3000 dessiatines of land fit for tillage. Those who have 50 peasants at least may attend them, but not deliberate. Colonels or Councillors of State, and functionaries of superior ranks, need not have more than five

serfs to be electors. In the governments of the two capitals, of Tauride, and of Astrakan, the nobles possessing country-houses or lands, producing them at least 600 silver rubles, take an active part in the assemblies. Moreover, no one can be a member of them till he has attained the full age of twenty-one years, and unless he has acquired at least the fourteenth class in active service.

The noble who possesses, at one and the same time, in several governments and districts, the property requisite to give him a right to attend the elections, participates in them in each of those governments or districts. He who has in different governments or districts small parcels of property, amounting together to 3000 dessiatines, with 100 peasants, has the choice of the place in which he may prefer exercising his rights of elector.

Petty proprietors have a right to unite their possessions into a joint stock till the quantity of lands and peasants amounts to that which is required by the law, and then to send a representative to the assembly.

Guardians and life possessors of properties, the importance of which fulfils the conditions fixed by law, can take part in the assemblies, if they answer the other prescribed conditions.

The father can depute a son to represent him, and a woman one of her relations, or even a noble stranger.

Nobles who have been turned out of the service, or brought to justice for some crime, are deprived of the right of sitting in the assembly.

The assembly of the nobles has a right to have a house of its own, a secretary, archives, and a seal.

The duties of the government assemblies are to elect to the different offices which are dependent on them, to discuss the interests of their government, and to present their opinions to the Governor, to the Minister of the Interior, and to the Emperor himself, to whose own hands they can address petitions. They have to make choice of three deputies, in case the

supreme power should see fit to summon them before it to confer on the complaints and demands of the nobility. These assemblies can, after receiving permission, send deputies to the Emperor, *to thank him for the rights and privileges which he may have granted to the nobility.*

The assemblies of each government, and the marshal and deputies in particular, are charged to verify the titles of the nobles of the province, and to keep a vigilant eye upon the book of the nobility.

The assembly of the nobility cannot, in any case, appear before the tribunals, and cannot defend itself there but by delegates.

If it issues any decisions contrary to the laws, it incurs a fine of 150 silver rubles; the marshal of the government has to pay in addition 60, and the district marshal 30 silver rubles.

The head of the government cannot form part of it, even though he should possess estates in the same province. The attorney of the

government must attend merely to furnish necessary explanations on points of law, but he cannot take any active part in the proceedings.

The duties of the marshals of the governments as well as those of the districts, elected by the assemblies of the nobility in each of these circumscriptions, are to preside at and to close the assemblies from which they emanate, to preserve order in them, to communicate to them the commands and the dispositions of the central power, and to lay out the funds belonging to the nobility according to its directions. They receive the oath of the officers elected by the nobility, and are members of the recruiting board.

The marshals of governments have, moreover, to deliver the necessary certificates to the nobles who wish to enter the service, and to keep in readiness the relay-horses requisite for the use of the Imperial family. They take part in the appointment of guardians to the estates of nobles who maltreat their serfs, who

are too prodigal, or who swerve from the orthodox religion.

The nobility of each district nominates a deputy for the *assembly of the deputies*, which is dependent on the senate alone, and over which the marshal of the government presides. This last assembly is charged with the formation of the book of the nobility, to which it adds the persons who have furnished undeniable proofs of their nobility, delivers diplomas, and gives notice of them to the *geroldie* which revises its decisions. It has also a hand in placing the estates of nobles under guardianship.

At the time of the general assembly, the nobility of each district chooses a district marshal, the district judge, an *isprawnik*, the judges of the two tribunals, and the inspectors of the corn magazines. It has also to elect candidates for the offices distributed throughout the whole government. These are, the marshal of the government, the presidents of the civil and criminal courts, the justice of

peace, the curator of the gymnasium, who is also curator of the schools, the assistants of the three tribunals, civil, penal, and of peace, the secretary of the nobility, and the members of the commission of public beneficence.

The marshal of the government is elected from among the former marshals, beginning with the actual holder of the office, the district marshals, ancient, or in office, and the presidents of the chambers. If these refuse, the nobility is at liberty to elect a new candidate. The votes for each candidate are given by balls for or against.

The government assemblies may exclude, by a majority of two-thirds of the votes, any noble on whom any judicial sentence whatever has cast a stigma, or who has committed a disgraceful act, even before he has been tried. From such a decision there is no appeal but to the senate, and then only in case of irregularity in the scrutiny.

The members who have obtained the greatest number of votes after the persons

elected to the different posts, prefer a natural claim to each of those functions, and are called candidates.

The district marshals may be chosen from among the hereditary nobles who do not combine as proprietors all the conditions of eligibility; and when they have once served that office for three years, they acquire the right of taking part in the assemblies.

The presidents of the two courts may be elected from among the nobles who are unconnected with the government. They ought to have filled the posts of assessors, an office equivalent to the sixth class, or else to have belonged to the seventh.

The personal nobles may be elected to the offices of assistants, and, for want of other candidates, to those of *ispravniks*.

The elections for the judicial posts take place only every six years, the others at each assembly of the nobility.

The marshal of the government, and the curator of the schools must be confirmed by the Emperor.

Every noble has a right to declare beforehand that he will not accept such or such an office. He who has occupied a superior post cannot, without his consent, be appointed to an inferior employment.

In the governments of Archangel, Olonetzk, Wiatka, Perm, and in all those of Siberia, there are no elections, on account of the small number of nobles residing in those countries.

Limited as are the rights of the assemblies of the nobility, the sphere of activity allotted to certain posts which are in their nomination is so extensive that this institution might be beneficial, if it were duly exercised; but such is the disfavour attached to the public service in Russia, and so deeply have sordid principles penetrated there, that the inferior posts are considered as a disgrace. To no purpose have generous patriots devoted themselves with a view to raise them in the public opinion; they have failed in their attempts, and have been obliged to relinquish them to men who have no other means of subsistence but the

extortions inseparable in Russia from every public office.

The posts of presidents of the two courts are rarely occupied by persons elected from among the nobility, in which are found few who combine the conditions required for those offices; and most commonly the Government itself fills them with functionaries of its own choosing. Peculations having been discovered in the government of Novgorod, Nicholas last year issued a decree insulting to the whole body of the nobility: he said that, if it knew not how to make a better use of the rights which he had granted to it, he should take them away. The daw tricked himself out in peacock's feathers. It was not Nicholas but Catherine who conferred the right of election on the nobility. What would be the consequence if the nobles, who occupy certain posts of internal administration, were removed to make room for agents of the Government? The good which the former still do would be destroyed; venality and partiality would exceed

all bounds, and the little probity, which is owing to the presence of the nobles in public employments, would disappear. While the Government shall not become moral and its agents shall not be independent, every effort ought to be made to extend the share of the nobles in the administration, and to gain respect for the functions which are allotted to them.

In order to form a just idea of the Russian nobility, we must not blend it together into one mass, but divide it into several classes. The courtiers and the functionaries have nothing in common with the nobility properly so called. Their life is regulated from above; their minds are contracted by the etiquette of the court, or the routine of their office; their hearts do not beat at ease in their tight uniform, or under the weight of decorations. In the country you meet with men, who, having all served for a longer or shorter time, and occupied posts more or less important, have abandoned that career, either from necessity

or from a fondness for rural life, or perhaps merely from aversion to the public service. Some occupy themselves successfully with their lands rather than with their serfs; others have gone into voluntary exile, and retired from the world in the pleasing hope of better times. Beside them you find a host of gentry who have never been out of their province, or who have served either in the interior or in regiments of the line, but have never emancipated themselves from the deep-rooted prejudices of their caste. In them the grossest ignorance is frequently united with the principles of a more than equivocal morality. Exceptions are, however, to be found in both classes; and at times you meet with warm hearts among the functionaries, and enlightened minds among the landed proprietors.

The Russian nobility is the head and the heart of the nation, nay, it is the entire nation; for, unhappily, it alone possesses rights, though illusory, while the rest of the people have nothing but obligations. It is in its

ranks that the most civilized and the most distinguished men in every respect are to be found. Hitherto its only virtue was a patriotism which displayed itself as much in great sacrifices in the time of national wars, as by a blind devotedness to the throne, which it considers as the only guarantee of the public and private welfare. For it, liberty will necessarily be the first consequence and the immediate effect of the law of progression. So long ago as 1825, more than one hundred nobles sacrificed themselves for this sacred cause. Literature and the army are indebted to the nobility for their most illustrious characters. The Puschkins and the Karamsins, the Suworofs and the Kutusofs, were nobles before they became great authors and great captains. Upon the nobility then must rest the hope of the reforms necessary for Russia, for it is far less from it than from the Government that every obstacle to the development of the nation proceeds.

The nobility ought further to be distin-

guished according to the different provinces. The Germans have nothing in common with the Russians: the Little Russians have scarcely any more resemblance to them. The nobility of the Baltic provinces, (I speak of those who like better to attend to their own interests and those of the country, than to scramble at court for distinctions which excite the jealousy of the native Russians,) the German nobility, I say, has a sense of its dignity, a truly European civilization, honourable manners, and usages. The Emperor Alexander, who was often disgusted with the meannesses of his courtiers, being one day at a ball at Reval, said aloud to his generals, "Take notice, they do not salute here as with us."

In Little Russia, the Tartars have not left such profound traces of their domination as have thoroughly demoralized Russia, properly so called. Serfage was not even introduced there before the time of Elisabeth, who took it into her head one day to make a present of 50,000 free men to her paramour Rasou-

movsky; and the inhabitants of that country, who were till then attached to their military chiefs and not to the soil, have since been forcibly inscribed as serfs.

OF THE SERFS.

No free man can be reduced to the state of serf. Since the year 1801, the emperors have renounced the custom of making presents of serfs, though there have been exceptions to this rule for Poland, where several entire villages have been arbitrarily deprived of their liberty. Voluntary enslavement is not valid, and none but orphans, picked up before the age of eight years, brought up and instructed by a noble, can now be inscribed in the number of his serfs.

Children are of the same condition as their father; they are free if born after his emancipation, his entrance into the military service, or his being sent to Siberia. Free women who marry serfs retain their liberty, but yet

owe obedience to their new master. Marriage with a free man emancipates the female serf.

Proprietors are forbidden to force their serfs to contract marriages contrary to their inclinations; on the other hand, the clergy are prohibited to marry serfs without the authorization of their masters. As the serfs belonging to one master can in general marry only among themselves, they soon become united together by such ties of relationship as scarcely allow them to seek new alliances. Petty proprietors, in particular, deprived of the right to purchase girls among their neighbours, see their serfs doomed to perpetual celibacy, and their substance gradually wasting away.

Runaway serfs must be restored to their masters, even though it may be more than ten years since they absconded. If, during this interval, they contract marriages with serfs belonging to other masters, the latter, husband or wife, and their children, go to the proprietors of the fugitives. In case they should

have married other runaways, such families go back entire to the master of the husband, and that of the wife receives an indemnity fixed by law.

If a fugitive female marries a free man, she continues free; but her husband is obliged to indemnify the proprietor.

If a serf has been killed without premeditation, the murderer pays the proprietor 600 silver rubles; but if there has been premeditation, no indemnity can be made, the criminal being liable to the punishment prescribed by the law.

The master of a vessel, on board which a serf dies in consequence of his service, is obliged to pay the master of the serf three years' wages and the tax upon the deceased*.

The serfs are bound to work for their master three days in the week, but not on Sundays or holidays.

Masters are forbidden to make their serfs

* Proprietors pay a personal tax of about eight francs per annum for their serfs.

work in the mines on conditions which the latter would not have accepted of their own accord.

The master decides without appeal all quarrels between the serfs on his estate, and inflicts on them such punishments as he pleases, though he has no right to mutilate them, or to endanger their lives. His power does not extend to the punishment of crimes, which must always be submitted to the cognizance of the tribunals. He may also leave to them the punishment of his people for disobedience or ordinary misdemeanours; and he can also make a soldier of a serf who misconducts himself, or give him up to the discretion of the Government.

The proprietor may remove his serfs from one estate to another, be the distance and situation what they will; but, in case his estates are mortgaged, he cannot do so without the consent of his creditors.

Whoever is not an hereditary noble cannot possess serfs. The noble who has no lands

cannot possess men. Neither the emancipated serf who may have become noble, nor his son, nor his grandson, can possess the lands on which they have been serfs.

It is forbidden to announce in the public papers any sale of serfs without lands, or to proceed publicly to such sales at fairs or markets. Proprietors cannot divide families and sell separately the husband, the wife, or the unmarried children, whether orphans or not.

The proprietors must secure his serfs from want. He pays a fine of one silver ruble fifty copecks for every serf taken in the fact of begging.

Serfs ruined or maltreated by their master are placed under guardianship, and certain cruelties of masters towards their serfs may be carried before the tribunals*. Proprietors

* An extraordinary trait of the justice of Nicholas is related. M. S * * * a landed proprietor in the government of Witebsk, having been murdered by his serfs for attempting to violate one of their daughters, an investigation was ordered. Twenty nobles, neigh-

placed under guardianship cannot reside on their estates, but are at liberty to sell them or to dispose of their revenues. In case of their acquiring new serfs, these would fare the same as the others. Estates on which arrears of imposts are suffered to accumulate are placed under guardianship till the debts are entirely cleared off.

Serfs cannot possess any immoveable property. Their lands and their houses belong to their masters. Inheritances which devolve to them are sold for their benefit. With the permission of their masters, they may establish manufactories, engage in commerce, and temporarily inscribe themselves in the trades.

The master may give freedom to his serfs, either collectively or individually, with or without land. The freedman is required to make choice of a condition before the next census; otherwise he becomes a soldier or

bours of the deceased, bore testimony in favour of his morality. The Emperor ordered the estates of all these false witnesses to be sequestrated.

colonist, and his young children are placed in the military schools. The children who have thus lost their parents continue free, on condition of their choosing a profession when they shall be of age. If the act of enfranchisement is found to be not valid, the emancipated person returns to servitude, unless he has meanwhile made choice of a condition; but, once inscribed in a liberal profession, he retains his independence, and his master receives from the Government 114 rubles $28\frac{4}{7}$ cop. for a man, and 57 silver rubles $14\frac{2}{7}$ cop. for a woman.

Serfs falling into the possession of persons who are not Christians become free on paying 4 silver rubles 50 cop. per head, for the benefit of the master.

The serf who denounces, with proofs, his master for treason or intended violence against the Emperor, obtains his liberty and that of his whole family.

The serfs made prisoners in war do not return to their masters on recovering their liberty.

Sentence of transportion or forced labour gives liberty to serfs, and their wives can accompany them to the place of their exile.

In another place*, I have declared myself in favour of the Decree of the 2nd of April, 1842, which empowers nobles to emancipate their serfs by making with them agreements that are freely assented to. I still maintain my opinion in its full extent. I have hailed this decree as a forerunner of the emancipation of the serfs; in fact, trifling as it may be, still a great deal has been done in broaching the question; and already the fear of seeing the Government one day cut this knot urges the nobles to prevent its direct interposition, and to remedy the present state of things in one way or other. By the method which the Government has adopted, it has declined the initiative, and thrown the responsibility on the nobles, by opening a clear field for their philanthropy. This was a politic proceeding on its part, and has singularly lightened its task.

* *Esprit de l'Economie Politique.*

Having once got so far, no matter whether willingly or unwillingly, it would be pusillanimous to recede; and I seize its decree as a plank of safety. I call upon it in the name of humanity to fulfil the engagements which morally it has contracted before the face of the whole world. I think the decree good, because to me it appears moderate, and it respects the pretensions of each, leaving to the nobles as to the serfs full latitude to make such agreements as they shall deem advantageous. This law is the more wise, inasmuch as it reserves to the Government the faculty of selecting, after some time, from among all these conventions which shall have been framed, and adopting as a model, that which shall be judged to be the best, and which will probably be rendered obligatory. I did certainly think, and I still believe, that the force of circumstances will imperatively command the adoption of conditions, differing according to the difference of localities*.

* I am met with the objection, I am told, that the serf being a thing, one cannot treat with him; that,

Thus far the results have not corresponded with the hopes entertained. The nobility has not shown that eagerness to enter the track opened for it which one had a right to expect; power has not brought the necessary perseverance to bear on this point, and has incurred the suspicion of timidity or duplicity. The serfs have not sufficient intelligence to frame the conditions of their enfranchisement, and would be afraid of compromising their future welfare. They distrust the Government more than their masters, and would rather remain serfs, than place themselves in greater dependence on authority. "Whenever," say they, "we should have differences with our masters, the judges would be sure to decide in their favour." They are afraid that then they should not be able to satisfy the rapacity of those magistrates, whereas at present they have

being a property himself, he cannot have wherewith to answer his engagements. The objection is subtle. The serf is a serf only because the law wills it, and it is to give him a property that he is emancipated.

scarcely any reason to complain of the cruelty of their masters. The nobility, on its part, has no wish to cause the Government to interfere in its relations with its peasants; and the latter, groping its way, dares neither come to the succour of the serfs, nor take any definitive resolution. The question thus finds itself indefinitely adjourned, thanks to the wretched state of the Russian administration, and to the bad faith of the officers charged by the law of 1842 to settle the differences between the freedmen and the nobles. But, with the deplorable situation of the Russian tribunals, not only is it impossible to think of any emancipation whatever, but existence itself becomes a burden. 'Tis there that the knife must first be applied: the administration must be improved, either by encouraging the most intelligent and the most upright nobles to take part in it, or by calling to it well-informed young men of good families. But the evil lies deeper than it is imagined; it arises from the very organization of the Russian govern-

ment, and it is in the upper regions that it must be attacked. The edifice is faulty at the foundation; it is impossible to make a real improvement in any part without rebuilding the whole. You cannot emancipate the serfs without emancipating the nobles, moralize the subjects without moralizing the government. You must at one and the same time give dignity to the law, purify the legislation, amend the judicial proceedings, inculcate upon each and all a sense of duty: civilize the people, in short. But this is not a reason for neglecting the details, for renouncing partial ameliorations, because one cannot modify the whole: it is necessary to labour at both at once, and to begin somewhere.

It is not means that are wanting to accomplish a work which God himself would be pleased to protect: and it is much more difficult to subsist with the serfs than to extricate one's-self from the embarrassments which their emancipation is liable to produce.

If you would not decree liberty unless upon

the basis of the relations at present subsisting between masters and serfs, beware of attempting more than it is possible to do. The *barstschina* serf, that is to say, one who works for the account of his master, has three days in the week for himself, and the use of three dessiatines of land, one for each kind of crop, according to the system of fallows which generally prevails in Russia. In certain provinces he has even six—two for each crop*. He has, moreover, a hut, implements of labour, and the requisite animals. The most rapacious master respects the moveable property of the serf, and the levy of sheep, poultry, eggs, and cloth begins to be relinquished. At times, it is true, he does put him out of his hut and his field, but he cannot help giving him others in their stead, being obliged to provide for his subsistence, and finding that the usual mode is after all the easiest. The farming peasants enjoy the whole of the lord's lands for a very

* A dessiatine is rather more than a French hectare.

moderate rent, which is fixed by mutual agreement.

If the law were to declare this state of things fixed and obligatory, by ensuring to the serfs the property of their land in exchange for the labour or the rent which they pay, the nobles would raise the outcry of spoliation and those who cultivate their lands themselves would consider their rights as invaded. The most enlightened, who might be disposed to renounce their rights to men, would not consent to give up for ever the smallest corner of their lands. If then the present state of things evidently protects the serfs, how is it that arrangements satisfactory to both parties cannot be devised? The nobles, having no rights over their serfs, have none over their labour, any more than the serfs have any right over their lands. The compact is easy to break, and the Government can, with perfect justice, prescribe a new order of things. Leaving to the two parties the faculty of discussing and settling their relations, it can, and

ought to urge them to it, by declaring itself in favour of a rule of some sort, which should be imposed by force, if, within a certain time, they had not come to an amicable arrangement.

"It is not yet time," say these nobles. This is the cry set up by the patient at sight of the surgeon's instrument—a cry which changes into a sigh of relief when the operator has taken off the gangrened limb. The serfs, they further say, are not capable of making a proper use of liberty. If this is not the language of the wolf to the lamb, it is that of prejudiced men. Slavery has never been the education for freedom. The Russian government, by interdicting every kind of instruction to the serfs*, prevents their understanding from conceiving the benefits of a free condition, and dooms them to a brutal ignorance, which makes them pleased with their slavery.

* The serf cannot be admitted into the public schools until after his emancipation, and nothing has yet been done on the score of instruction for this class of the population.

The Russian nobles wish for the emancipation of the serfs, because they are ashamed to pass for slave-traders in the eyes of civilized Europe; because they begin to perceive some profit in emancipation, and to be apprehensive for their own safety, fearing that the serfs may by and by seize that liberty which is now refused them. The Government wishes for it too, in order to *whitewash* itself before foreign nations, and to augment its revenues. At that rate there would be none but the serfs themselves who would not wish to be free; for, to listen to the partisans of the *status quo*, their condition is ensured at present, but would become quite precarious on the day of their emancipation. If, in fact, the nobles are determined not to part with any of their lands, in this case indeed liberty would be a dangerous weapon in the hands of the serfs.

The Government, on the one hand, has not the courage to take a decisive measure, and, on the other, the serfs know not how to stipulate for their interests. The Emperor, yield-

ing to foreign influences, would fain crown himself with an immortal laurel; but he knows not either how to avoid or to meet the dangers which emancipation presents, and he is too well pleased with the darkness which surrounds him to decree the freedom that would dispel it.

Before emancipating the serfs of the nobles, it would be necessary to enfranchise the serfs of the Crown, for it is universally admitted that their state is more wretched than that of the serfs of private persons. They cannot shift from one place to another when they like, nor pursue any trade that suits them, nor establish themselves where they please; and the multiplicity of their chiefs only paralyzes their activity, only ruins their fortune. On the most frivolous pretexts, all the *employés* of the Government and the elected *employés* vie with each other in fleecing them, alleging, as a reason for their extortions, high motives of State which they are not capable of comprehending; and the uniform ridicule with which

peasant functionaries are overwhelmed increases their rapacity as much as their influence.

The half measures which Nicholas has hitherto taken, are deficient in energy; and, but recently, the Government, coming forward as guarantee of the engagements which the serfs attached to the personal service of their masters had contracted for their liberation, neglected to fix a maximum which should be obligatory for the lords. It is, therefore, said that nothing great will be accomplished under this wretched system, and that the heir to the crown will inherit with it all the difficultie which his father was incapable of resolving.

OF THE REGULAR CLERGY.

A MAN cannot enter a convent before he is thirty years old, a woman before forty. They must be free from all personal engagements and obligations, such as the public service, dependence on a master, ties of marriage,

have no debts, and no accounts to settle with justice. In case a married couple wish to renounce the world both at once, they must not have any children of tender age.

The monk who quits his convent does not recover either the ranks or orders which he may have acquired by service, and merely returns to the class to which he belonged in right of birth. He cannot be admitted again into the service, nor dwell, before the expiration of seven years, in one of the capitals, or in the government in which the monastery that he has left is situated.

Monks expelled from the convent for misconduct are at the disposal of the Government.

Monks are exempt from taxes, from the recruiting, and from corporal punishments.

No member of the regular clergy can acquire or possess immoveable property; he is obliged to dispose of it on taking the tonsure, and has no right to redeem it on his return into the world; but he may build or buy cells in the interior of his monastery. He is prohi-

bited from all commerce, excepting in the articles which he makes himself, and which, with the permission of the superior, may be sold by aged monks. He is forbidden to contract any engagement, to receive in deposit any thing besides books, and to place any capital in the institutions of credit.

The monastic authorities alone have a right to make wills. The property of the mere monks belongs after their death to the monastery.

OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL PROFESSION.

Every man, who is not a serf, is at liberty to embrace the ecclesiastical profession, when there are vacant places in the clergy, and when the conduct and education of the applicant are conformable to the duties of that ministry.

The deacons who renounce their functions cannot be admitted into the public service till six years, and priests not till ten years

afterwards: they cannot recover the rights which they may have previously acquired. If they have been excluded from the clergy for misconduct, the term before which they cannot be admitted into the civil service is doubled; it is then twelve years for deacons, and twenty for priests. As for the military service, they may be admitted into that immediately, but as common soldiers.

Mere clerks, excluded for misconduct and deprived of the free choice of a profession, are made soldiers, or in case of incapacity, colonists in the least populated governments.

The members of the clergy are exempt from taxes, from corporal punishments, and from the recruiting. Those who are noble by birth, or by the collation of an order, are authorized to possess serfs.

The houses belonging to ecclesiastics, whether in office or retired from the service, are exempt from all contribution excepting that for lighting the streets and keeping them in repair. They are forbidden to turn them

into cook-shops or public-houses. No member of the clergy can give valid security, or legally manage the business of private persons. They are prohibited from engaging in any kind of trade that requires an admission or reception of those who devote themselves to it.

OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWNS.

By the term middle class, Russian legislation understands all the inhabitants of the towns without distinction, merchants as well as artisans. Properly speaking, there is no middle class, unless we include in it the inferior nobility and clergy, the *employés*, and the merchants.

The merchants inscribed in a guild* are exempt from military service and from personal imposts.

* There are three guilds of merchants in Russia, differing according to the contributions which they pay to the government, and the nature and importance of the commercial affairs to which inscription in each of these guilds gives them a right.

In the capital towns, the citizens cannot possess houses of the value of more than 7,500 silver rubles, if they are not inscribed in a guild. Neither can they possess lands with serfs, and these must, when the case does happen, be removed elsewhere or sold in the course of a year, to some one who has a right to possess them.

By virtue of ancient privileges, the city of Smolensk retains in full property lands with serfs, under the dependence of its hôtel de ville. The Tartars of the Tauride and the Polovniks of the government of Wologda are likewise beyond the operation of the law just adverted to.

The peasants have no right to possess houses in the capitals.

The inhabitants of each town have the faculty of meeting to consult upon their common interests. These meetings are general, or partial and special, either for different classes of the inhabitants, such as those of

the merchants, artisans, &c., or for different quarters of the towns.

General meetings are usually held every three years, in winter, a fortnight after those of the nobles. They may also be summoned extraordinarily as circumstances may require.

The assembly of each town may have its particular house, archives, a seal, a secretary, and a fund for the general expenses.

Every citizen of the age of twenty-five years, possessing a capital the interest of which amounts to at least fifteen silver rubles, can take an active part in these meetings. Those who are not so old or so rich have a right only to be present. Peasants dwelling in the town, and possessing a house there, are not admitted to the assemblies.

The attributions of these assemblies are to deliberate on the propositions of the head of the government, to address to him presentations to certain places, and to submit to him reflections upon the interests of the community.

In cases where the rights and advantages of commerce are grievously violated or compromised, the assembly may refer the matter directly to the Minister of the Finances.

The commune pays a fine of sixty rubles for every decision contrary to the laws. It does not appear before the tribunals, but defends itself by means of an advocate.

The communes have a right to possess meadow-lands granted to them by the Government. They have the faculty of erecting mills, constructing canals, and establishing banks.

The elections are general for the whole town, or special for each quarter, or each body of the State. The general assembly elects the Mayor of the town, the Burgomasters, and the Town Council. It elects, by districts, the Verbal Judges, the Deputies of the Assembly, the Members of the Commission for billeting and for the assessment of contributions. The elections attributed to particular bodies are those of the brokers and

the notaries, of the members of the Commercial Schools, of the inspectors of the Primary Schools, of the valuers of goods destined for exportation, of the comptrollers of the precious metals, of the commissioners of the Beneficent Society of Moscow, of the members of the River Navigation to Twer and Orel.

Each body of the State that has a voice in the commune sends a delegate to the Municipal Council, which in its turn composes a committee of six members. The merchants, the citizens, and the artisans, form particular corporations, and elect chiefs: each guild has its Mayor, each trade has its Elder, and all the trades united make choice of a Syndic. Elections of this kind take place every year. Each town has moreover to elect twenty-four jurors for the recruiting.

The deputies of the districts form, with the Starosts and the Mayor, the Assembly of the Deputies, charged to keep the book of the commune, in which are inscribed all

the citizens of the town, and to furnish them with extracts from it and attestations.

Bankrupts, and persons who have suffered judicial condemnation cannot be admitted to vote at elections; nay, even such as are in bad repute, or whose characters excite distrust, may be excluded from them.

Those who have introduced a new branch of industry, the masters of cloth manufactories which supply the crown, and apothecaries, are not obliged to serve.

The merchants of the first guild are not bound to accept any posts but those of mayor of the town and adjuncts of the tribunals of peace. Those of the second guild are besides obliged to perform the offices of burgomasters and councillors (rathmann). The members of the third guild cannot refuse the places of deputy. The other posts fall only to the citizens properly so called.

The persons elected must be confirmed by the authorities to whose jurisdiction their functions belong.

All these agents have uniforms, according to their offices, and those who perform the duties of them for three sessions keep these uniforms for ever. They are exempt from the recruiting while they are in place, and become so for ever when they have remained in it for three sessions. The merchants of the third guild, who hold posts equivalent to rank in the public service, are exempt while in office from corporal punishments.

The elections are for three years, excepting those of the verbal judges, and the deputies and commissioners of quarters, who serve for one year only.

These persons receive no salary from the Crown, but they are paid by the town, agreeably to arrangements prescribed by the Minister of the Interior.

On the 10th of April, 1832, there was instituted a particular class of citizens, called *honorary* citizens. This quality is hereditary or personal. Under the first head are included the children of personal nobles, the

merchants having decorations, the merchants who have remained ten years in the first or twenty years in the second guild, without having ever failed or been sued at law, those who have been councillors of commerce or manufactures, the doctors and masters of arts of the universities, if they do not prefer to enter the service, the artists of the Academy of Arts, and those of the Imperial theatres of the first class, after fifteen years' service.

Personal honorary citizens are the candidates and graduated students of the universities, the pupils of the schools of commerce of St. Petersburg and Moscow, who have completed their courses, and the actors of the first class, after ten years' service.

Either of these distinctions may be granted by the Government to persons of eminence in commerce, manufactures, sciences, and arts.

The rights of honorary citizenship cease on account of fraudulent bankruptcy, and for any crime entailing the privation of civil rights. They are suspended in regard to those who

pass into a servile or menial condition, without prejudice to their children, if in them the quality was hereditary.

OF ELECTIONS IN THE COUNTRY.

The peasants of the Crown alone have a right to hold public elections. They send two delegates to the court of conscience, one of whom is a member of the college of public beneficence. They elect a *zemski* for the local police, *sotskis* and *dessiatskis*, or superintendents of a hundred and of ten houses.

These elections likewise take place every three years in each district, and by delegates, to the number of one for five hundred house or land holders. The elector must be at least thirty years of age, father of a family, and of irreproachable conduct. The candidate ought to possess the same qualifications; he may moreover be a noble or public functionary, provided that he consents to serve the office. The elections are held in the town specified

by authority, and must be confirmed by the chief of the province. The persons elected cannot be punished without trial, nor enrolled as soldiers; and those who have performed the duties for nine years, by virtue of three successive elections, are exempted for life from the recruiting. The assessors have uniforms, and a salary from Government. The election of the *sotskis* and *dessiatskis* is decided by universal suffrage. The villages which have fewer than ten or one hundred houses are joined to others, with which they take turns for the election of the *dessiatskis* and the *sotskis*. The *sotskis* are elected for three years, and the *dessiatskis* for one month only. There are officers of this kind among all the peasants without distinction, and it is their duty to execute the orders of the police, and to preserve the public tranquillity. Proprietors nominate them at pleasure for their serfs.

The elections are local or general; particular for each village, (selo,) or general for the district, (voloste). The first are limited to the

choice of the electors for the general elections, in the proportion of two for every ten houses. The electors form the general election of the commune, and have to appoint the elder of the village, the mayors, the collectors of the taxes, the inspector of the magazines of corn, the keepers of the forests, the judges of the court of conscience, the *starosts* for fires, the sotskis, and three candidates for the office of volostes. These elections take place by ballot, the candidates being taken from among the electors, in the ratio of two in ten. Each district electoral college chooses a mayor from among the adjuncts and the judges, out of whom the chamber of the domains selects one for each office. The various persons elected must be twenty-five years of age. Disbanded soldiers are eligible to these employments.

In Siberia, the elections of the peasants take place annually by means of delegates, in the ratio of one for every hundred inhabitants. The elective offices are confined in the volostes to those of mayor, starost, and clerk, and in

the villages, to those of the elders and the dessiatskis. In Siberia, as in the Caucasus, the peasants send no delegates to the tribunals, and these offices are conferred by the Government. In the western provinces, all the inhabitants of the villages and the volostes vote in common at elections.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

THE right to serve his country is not granted to every Russian. The tributary classes, the serfs, emancipated persons, the citizens (bourgeois) properly so called, the traders of the second and third guild, are deprived of the right to enter the civil service. This interdict does not extend to public instruction; but serfs cannot study.

The nobility, on the contrary, are obliged to serve, for such is the will of the Sovereign, and consequently of public opinion, its faithful companion; there is, moreover, a law which deprives of nobility every man whose father

and grandfather have not served The consequence of this fact is, that the civil functions are encumbered with nobles, while there is a want of capable officers in the ranks of the army.

Active service is reckoned to begin at the age of sixteen years. Young men, who have been educated abroad, from the age of ten to eighteen years, are deprived of the right to enter the service.

If a merchant of the first guild has not remained in it twenty years, or has been bankrupt, neither he nor his children have the right to be admitted into the civil service.

Deacons, who voluntarily quit the church, cannot be taken into the service till six years and priests till ten years afterwards. Those who have been excluded from the church for misconduct must wait double that time.

There are fourteen classes of *tschinns*, viz.,

Civil Ranks.	Military Ranks
1. Chancellor	Field-Marshal.
2. Actual Privy Councillor	General-in-Chief.

	Civil Ranks.	Military Ranks.
3.	Privy Councillor	Lieutenant-General.
4.	Actual Councillor of State	Major-General.
5.	Councillor of State	Brigadier (abolished.)
6.	Councillor of College	Colonel.
7.	Court Councillor	Lieutenant-Colonel.
8.	Assessor of College	Major.
9.	Titular Councillor	Captain.
10.	Secretary of College	Second Captain.
11.	——	——
12.	Secretary of Government	Lieutenant.
13.	——	Sub-Lieutenant.
14.	Registrator of College	Officer.

These military ranks are those of the regiments of the line: in the guard, the same titles represent a rank two degrees higher, the artillery excepted, where the advantage is of but one degree. The ordinary members of the Academy of Sciences are of the sixth, the extraordinary members of the seventh, and the adjuncts of the eighth class.

The professors of the Academies of Arts and of Medicine are, if they belong to the first degree, of the sixth class, those of the second are of the seventh, and those of the third degree are of the eighth.

The *ordinary* professors of the universities are of the seventh, the *extraordinary* professors of the eighth, and the *lecturers* of the tenth class. The Pedagogic Institution, the School of Law, and the Lyceums of Odessa and Tzarskoie-Selo follow the same classification. The professors of the Besborodko and Demidof Lyceums are of the eighth class. The directors of the gymnasiums are of the seventh, the inspectors of the eighth; the masters of science of the first degree are of the ninth, those of the second of the tenth, and the drawing and writing masters of the 12th class.

The inspector of the Lyceum of Tzarskoie-Selo is of the sixth class.

The director of the School of St. Peter and St. Paul is of the eighth class, which he retains after six years' service. The inspector is of the ninth, the masters are of the tenth, and they retain their rights after four years' service.

All the professors, masters, and teachers, are reckoned as being in active service, and

advance according to the general rules. Private tutors are likewise considered as being in the service, and they have the rights of personal nobility, even when they have no rank.

The masters of the parish schools (écoles communales) are included in the fourteenth class, but are not actually admitted into it till they have served twelve years.

At the Don, the teachers of the Cossacks have military rank; their promotion, nevertheless, takes place not according to military order but to the regulations of the public instruction.

Masters who have no certificate of study acquire the rank of the fourteenth class at the expiration of three years, if they are noble; at the end of five, if they are sons of personal nobles; at the end of seven, if their fathers were not invested with any rank; and at the end of ten, if their parents had no right to the service. Those, on the contrary, who have gone through their courses at the gymnasium,

without acquiring rank, attain to the four-teenth class at the end of two years if they come under the first head; of three if they are under the second; of five if under the third; and of eight years in the fourth. Those who have obtained ranks are confirmed in them after a year's service.

Doctors of medicine and surgery are of the seventh, ordinary medical men of the eighth, apothecaries of the ninth, veterinary surgeons of the tenth, candidates of medicine of the twelfth, assistants of the fourteenth class. The first are confirmed in their tschinn after ten years' service, the second after eight years*. Physicians of the first degree are admitted into the ninth class after three years' service, those of the second after four years, and those of the third after six years. The veterinary surgeons and apothecaries employed are subject to the same rule. Dentists attached to the public service are admitted into the fourteenth class after they have served twelve years. Doctors

* Decree of May 24, 1834.

are promoted from the eighth to the seventh in five years, to the sixth after eleven years, and to the fifth after fifteen years' service. Surgeons, veterinary surgeons and apothecaries of the first degree are promoted to the eighth class after eight years, those of the second after nine years, and those of the third after ten years' service. These last cannot rise above the eighth class.

The chamberlain is considered as being councillor of state, and the gentleman of the chamber as titular councillor. A man cannot be invested with these offices at court, unless he has acquired corresponding ranks in the active service.

The valets-de-chambre of the court are promoted to the twelfth class after ten years' service; but, while in that situation, they cannot rise above the eighth. The grooms of the chamber are admitted into the sixth at the same time that they are invested with their office. The great singers of the court are made of the twelfth class after ten years' ser-

vice; when they have attained the ninth, they are obliged to pass into some other service.

The master workmen of manufactories may, at the end of twelve years, obtain the rank of the fourteenth class, on condition of continuing in their profession for eight years.

The actors and artists of the Imperial theatrical companies are reckoned as belonging to the public service. They are divided into three classes: the first-rate characters, the solo performers, the machinists, the managers, the leaders of the band, form the first; the performers of secondary parts, prompters, and masters of the wardrobe, belong to the second; and the chorus-singers to the third.

The artists of the first class who have been ten years at the theatre may enter the service of the State, and have a right to be admitted into the fourteenth class at the end of six years. Those who have been educated at the institutions of the Crown do not acquire the same rights till they have been fifteen years at the theatre.

The directors of the relays are reckoned to belong to the fourteenth class.

Promotion in the service depends on two conditions: birth and a good education. To each of these two heads there are three subdivisions.

As to birth, a distinction is made between hereditary nobility, personal nobility, and individuals foreign to the nobility. In regard to education, there are in the first place persons who have completed their courses at the universities and obtained degrees, those who have been educated in the gymnasiums, and lastly, those who have received only a private education.

Whoever has not gone through a regular course of study, classes himself in the service in virtue of the rights of birth. In this case, he enters without distinction, without any rank, and as a mere clerk of chancellery. But hereditary nobles arrive at the fourteenth class at the expiration of two years, the children of former *employés*, of merchants of the first

guild, and of ecclesiastics, in four years; and the children of those who never had any rank in six years.

Between the fourteenth and the ninth class, every *employé* included in this category is obliged to continue four years in each rank, and at least three years in case of eminent services; but, from the ninth class to the eighth, hereditary nobles must be promoted in five years, and the others in ten only. It takes six years to ascend from the eighth to the seventh, and the same number of years to pass from the sixth to the fifth class. Hereditary nobles, when they have distinguished themselves, may acquire the eighth class in three years; but for those who are not so eight years are required. In all the superior classes the same cause may obtain for all, without distinction of birth, a diminution of two years.

Young men who have obtained degrees at the universities enter the service with the *tschinns* which are attributed to them. The

doctor is admitted as being of the eighth, the master of arts of the ninth, the candidate of the tenth, and the graduated student of the twelfth class.

The theological academies confer licences of the first and second degree, which correspond with the titles of masters of arts or candidates; and the licentiates who relinquish the ecclesiastical career enter the civil service with rank in the ninth or the tenth class.

The seminaries confer on their pupils licences to two degrees, the first of which only gives a right to the fourteenth class.

The Lyceum of Tzarskoie-Selo and the School of Law are authorized to confer on their pupils ranks up to the ninth inclusively; the Lyceum of Odessa and that of Prince Besborodko cannot go beyond the twelfth, and that of Demidof, is limited to the fourteenth class.

Educated persons of the first category rise from the fourteenth class to the twelfth, and from the twelfth to the tenth, in three years;

from the tenth to the ninth, and from the ninth to the eighth, in four years, if they are of noble birth, and in six years if they are not; from the eighth to the seventh, and from the seventh to the sixth, in three years; and from the sixth to the fifth, in four years. Eminent services may produce an abatement of two years for each rank, to the eighth inclusively, and of one year for the superior ranks.

Persons who have not followed the courses of the public institutions, may undergo examinations at the universities, which give them the rights of literate men.

The students who have been instructed at the expense of the State are required to serve for six years.

In the second class of literate men are included the pupils of the secondary schools, the gymnasiums, &c. They acquire the fourteenth class at the end of one year's service if they are noble; of two years if their fathers were but personal nobles; and of four years if they had no title of nobility.

Up to the ninth class, they pass four years in each rank; then, to gain the eighth the noble takes but four years, and the others, ten. Afterwards, four years are required from all to obtain the superior classes, excepting the fifth, which demands six years' service. Whoever distinguishes himself, may obtain a diminution of one year for each rank, of four years even for admission into the eighth class, if he is not noble, and of two years for the fifth.

The corps of pages, of seamen, and of ensigns, can place their pupils in the civil service, in case of unfitness for the military service, by causing them to be included among the literate persons of the first or second class, according to the examination which they have to undergo on the sciences that form the object of their studies. The pupils destined for the guard have a right to the tenth, and the others to the twelfth class.

Military men pass into the civil service with the ranks which they have in the army; but they do not obtain advancement till after

the promotion of their comrades who remained in the regiment. In the civil service, they are included in the first class of literate persons, if they have been in the artillery, sappers of the guard, or officers of the staff; the others are comprised in the second.

Beyond the fifth class, there is no rule for promotion, which then depends solely on the pleasure of the Emperor.

Up to the seventh class, inclusively, ordinary promotion, or by seniority, depends on the directing senate, and is effected by diplomas given by that assembly. Above the sixth class, promotions are submitted to the Emperor, and the diplomas are countersigned by him. Promotion for eminent services must be submitted by each minister to the committee of ministers, and by that committee to the Emperor.

Young men are obliged to set out in the service by an employment in a province, and to pass three years there. They are under the express superintendence of the governors,

who address reports of their conduct to the Emperor himself. The ministry of Foreign Affairs is the only one which takes beginners at their first starting.

The different employments in the administration correspond with the classes, so that each *tschinn* has a right to certain functions, and to the person who is invested with it no employment inferior by more than a single degree can be assigned, unless he prefers a more subordinate place; but he may occupy a place two degrees superior to his *tschinn*.

On quitting the service, if a man has performed his duty in an irreproachable manner, he is dismissed with the next superior *tschinn*, provided that he has been at least a year in his rank. The eighth class, which confers the rights of hereditary nobility, is not granted to persons who are not noble, unless they have served in the ninth class for the number of years required for them. Those who wish to return to the service are received only with the rank which they have actually occupied.

Service in Siberia, or the Caucasus, and in certain districts of the governments of Wiatka, Astrakhan, Archangel, Olonetsk, and Wologda, entitles to particular privileges, in consideration of the disagreeableness of residence in those countries.

Persons belonging to the tributary classes, but free, are admitted into the service in those provinces, and obtain the fourteenth class at the expiration of eight years. Those who have a right to public service there enjoy a diminution of half the time otherwise required for their admission into the fourteenth class. The allowance for travelling expenses is double for the whole distance between the place of abode and the place of destination. The *employé* receives moreover a sum varying from 100 to 150 silver rubles towards his expenses of removing, and every five years a gratuity equal to one-third of his annual salary. Persons who have accepted the indemnification for removing are bound to pass three years in the service, or in the

contrary case, to repay to the Crown all the money received on this account. In the thirty-five years' service necessary to obtain the order of St. Wladimir, three years are reckoned as four; in Astrakhan, four years count as five. The sick are admitted into the hospitals, and the children of the *employés* into the schools at the expense of the Crown.

Every *employé* who has completed an irreproachable service of twenty years, receives a pension equal to one-third of his appointments. For thirty years he has two-thirds; and, after thirty-five years' service, he retains, by the title of pension, the whole of his salary. On the two latter terms, it is possible to obtain a benefit of six months. In case of ruined health, by means of the service, the *employé* has a right to the above-mentioned pensions, with a benefit of ten years,—that is to say, he receives one-third of the appointments after ten years', two-thirds after twenty years', and the whole after thirty years' service. In

case of severe and incurable disease, such as paralysis, mental derangement, blindness, he retains one-third of his appointments after five years', two-thirds after ten years', and the whole after twenty years' service. As for the agents who have had no fixed salary, their pensions are calculated at the rate of a total of 28 silver rubles 50 cop. per annum.

The *employés* in the department of public instruction receive as pension one-third of their salaries after fifteen years', two-thirds after twenty years', and the whole after twenty-five years' service. For every five years beyond this they receive in addition a sum equal to a fifth of their salary, which is paid them at the same time as the pension so long as they continue in the same service.

The *employés* of the court retain, after fifteen years' service, one-third of their appointments, by the title of pension, half after twenty years, and the whole after thirty. If they complete fifty years' service they re-

ceive, moreover, the whole of their expenses for board, that is, for table and other things; for thirty-five years they have a right to one-third, for forty years to half, and for forty-five years to two-thirds.

After twenty years' service the artists of the Imperial theatres keep the whole of their appointments, if they do not exceed 1142 silver rubles 80 cop., and half, after ten years.

The time passed in leave of absence or vacation beyond four months for the ordinary *employés*, and two months for the actors, is deducted from the effective time of service, and is not included for pensions any more than for salaries and ranks.

The widow, without children, of an *employé* who has died in the service, receives half the pension to which her husband would have been entitled. If she has children, she is paid moreover, for each child one-third of the pension, so that with three children she receives the entire pension. No distinction is made

between the children of the *employé* and those of a former husband.

The right of widows and orphans does not extend to the pensions which their husbands and fathers would have received, had they lived, for some act of particular distinction.

Children who have lost their mother receive each one-fourth of their father's pension; four children receive the whole of it; and, if there are more, they divide it equally among them. The children who are of age, that is to say, boys at seventeen, and girls at twenty-one, when provided with an establishment, the daughters by marrying, the sons by admission into a public institution at the expense of the Crown, lose their rights to their father's pension.

Saving some exceptions, nobody can enjoy a pension and his appointments at once. In the military service, the years passed in the field are counted double for the pension.

The uniforms of the civil functionaries are green, excepting those of the ministry of public

instruction, which are blue, and the state dress of th senators, which is red.

There is the great and the little uniform: for the first, the coat has one row of buttons, with standing collar, of cloth or velvet, embroidered with gold or silver, according to the different ministries. There are generally twenty-five buttons, nine before, three to each sleeve, three on each hip, and two on each skirt. The first five classes have white pantaloons with lace; the cravats must be white. The waistcoats are of white cloth, with uniform buttons. Coloured cravats, waistcoats, and pantaloons, are strictly prohibited, as are also beards and moustaches. No person is allowed to wear plain clothes in the public offices. There are uniform great coats for travelling. The embroidery of the dresses has ten varieties, according to the ranks. The *employés* who have swords of honour, acquired in the military service, retain them with the civil uniform.

Need we insist on the extreme absurdity of

this organization? Why not forty-one classes as well as fourteen? Fourteen, when in reality there are but twelve? What similarity is there between the civil and military ranks, from which the former have been copied? The relation between the rank and the functions is quite arbitrary; hence it is found necessary to deviate every moment from the rule, and to admit exceptions which tend to become rules. Would the titles of chief of section, office, or department sound worse or inspire less respect than those of honorary councillor, councillor of college, or actual councillor? Are not the Russian *tschinovniks* downright Chinese mandarins? They are, it is true, exempt from the discipline of the cane; but then, as a wag once observed, why not promote the whole nation to at least the fourteenth class?

From the fourteenth *tschinn* to the eighth, from the rank of officer to that of major, persons are called *your nobleness;* from the eighth to the fifth class, *your high nobleness;* for the fifth, or the rank of councillor of state,

there is a special denomination, that of *your high birth;* from the fourth to the second, the style is *your excellency,* and in the second and first, *your high excellency.* The addresses of letters bear these titles; soldiers, servants, and coachmen have them incessantly in their mouths. What an honour! Women also enjoy the like designations, and are called *madame la conseillière titulaire* or *intèrne,* as it may happen to be, and *madame la generale.* On the door of one of them, I saw one day the inscription, *Conseillère de college,* Poulette (Kourotschkine);" and another, being accosted in the street by a stranger, haughtily replied, "What do you take me for? I am *conseillère d'état!*"

The highest Russian functionary pays no attention but to his own interest, and performs his duties only in proportion to the material advantages which he derives from his service. Honour and glory are nothing to him, beside crosses, *tschinns,* rubles, and dessiatines of land.

The ranks, even the very lowest, are but stepping-stones to arrive at fortune. The aiguillette of the Emperor's *aid-de-camp*, and the ribbon of St. Andrew, at the top of this may-pole, are the only prizes considered worthy of the trouble which the Russians take to climb up it. The over-excitement of vanity is in proportion to the multiplicity of distinctions. Where blind obedience is the only virtue, individual merit is of no value. Not a creature studies the interests of the country: the country of the Russian is the Emperor, and the people serve him only according as he pays them: hence the avidity of the functionaries is equalled only by the prodigality of the Tzar, who has ruined Russia by the presents of all kinds made to his confidants. Poland, Bessarabia, the Caucasus have been thus given away: and who can count the millions which Nicholas has lavished upon his courtiers? Knowing that he has many enemies, he conceives that he cannot attach his creatures to him strongly enough,

and the sweat of the people pays for their incapacity and their carelessness. Casual and incessantly-repeated donations, annuities for life, grants of the whole of their appointments to those who retire from the service—all these absorb the greater part of the revenue, and make Russia the most wretched of countries.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE RUSSIAN ORDERS.

THERE are eight orders in Russia: 1. the order of St. Andrew; 2. that of St. Catherine; 3. of St. Alexander Newsky; 4. of the White Eagle; 5. of St. George; 6. of St. Wladimir; 7. of St. Anne; 8. of St. Stanislaus.

The White Eagle and St. Stanislaus are of Polish origin: the order of St. Anne is from Holstein: the order of St. Catherine is that of the ladies; the Empress, who is grand-mistress, retains that dignity as long as she lives. The grand-master of all the others is the Emperor alone. All the grand-dukes of Russia become at their baptism knights of St. Andrew, St.

Alexander, the White Eagle, and St. Anne; the princes of the blood when they attain the age of majority. The grand-duchesses are invested at their baptism with the order of St. Catherine, and princesses of the blood on their majority.

In Russia, an order confers the rights of hereditary nobility. The Baschkirs are exempted from this prerogative; they acquire thereby no more than personal nobility. Since the 10th of April, 1832, orders confer on Russian merchants the hereditary rights of *honorary citizens* only. The nobility inherent in the order is transmitted to the children born before the elevation of the father, excepting, however, such as may have come into the world in the condition of serfs or tributaries.

Knights of an order are deprived of it for crimes and offences contrary to dignity and honour, after judgment, confirmed by the Emperor. Degraded officers are deprived of the right of wearing their orders, till they are reinstated; the same course is pursued with

ecclesiastics excluded from the service. In general, the number of the knights of any order is not determined; but that of the salaried members of each is fixed. On their admission, all pay a fee, according to the decoration and the class which they receive. Foreigners are exempted from this tax, as are also the Circassians, and such persons as receive decorations adorned with diamonds. Foreigners out of the service have no right to the revenues attached to the order with which they may be invested.

The administration of all the orders belongs to the chancellor, who is elected from among the knights of St. Andrew. He has for assistants the treasurer of the orders, and the grand-master of the ceremonies, who holds the same office in the Imperial court. Both wear the order of St. Andrew about the neck. The other orders have each a master of the ceremonies, who wears his insignia in the same manner. Each order has, moreover, a secretary and two heralds, wearing the cross at the

button-hole. All the knights and the officers have robes, the colour of which is specified in the statutes.

Each order has its festival-day, and the 8th of November, St. Michael's day in Russia, is the festival of all. The knights resident at St. Petersburg and Moscow then elect six members of each order, who are charged with the superintendence and direction of the charitable institutions situated in each capital.

The Academy of Sciences is commissioned to publish, every five years, a complete list of the knights of all the orders, with their titles, and another of the new creations and extinctions.

A person cannot obtain a decoration till he has served fifteen years, excepting for particular merits, or for having served either in Siberia or in the Caucasus; in these cases, he may be allowed a benefit of five years. Moreover, to be qualified to receive an order, he must be of at least the ninth class, or occupy a post equivalent to that rank. Besides, there are particular con-

ditions of time and position in the service for the different degrees of each order. Thus, neither the order of St. Anne of the first class, nor that of St. Wladimir of the second, can be given to any person whatever, whose rank or function is below the fourth class; the order of St. Stanislaus of the first class cannot be conferred on any one whose function is below the fifth, and his *tschinn* below the fourth; no more can the St. Wladimir of the third be given to those whose rank or post is below the sixth class.

Moreover, the Russian decorations are classed according to their respective importance; and their hierarchy must not be infringed, that is to say, a superior order must not be given to one who has not the inferior orders. Nevertheless, exceptions to all these rules are met with, and, indeed, are of daily occurrence.

The order of St. Andrew has but a single class; the decoration consists of a sky-blue ribbon, worn over the right shoulder, the star

on the left side; the cross, suspended from a ribbon, is blue, and stands upon an eagle surmounted by three crowns. It displays the image of the crucifixion of St. Andrew, with the four Roman letters, S. A. P. R. (Sanctus Andreas, Patronus Russiæ). The reverse represents a scroll, with the inscription in Russian, *For Faith and Fidelity*. The star is of silver in a field or, where is seen the Russian eagle with the cross of St. Andrew, surrounded with the motto of the order, in gold letters on a field azure.

The costume is composed of a long robe of green velvet, lined with white taffeta, with collar, strings, and shoulder-band in silver. The star of the order is sewed on the left side. The upper vest is white, and the hat of black velvet, with a red feather and a St. Andrew's cross on the ribbon.

This order is not to be acquired by any right whatever, and can only be conferred at the pleasure of the sovereign.

The knights of this order must hold offices

of the third class, and by their promotion they acquire, at the same time, the orders of St. Alexander, St. Anne, and the White Eagle. But, in general, this order is conferred only on functionaries of the first or second class, and after they have all the inferior orders.

Each kinght pays on his nomination a fee of 240 silver rubles*. Twelve knights, comprehending three ecclesiastics, receive among them 6092 silver rubles, 507 rubles 66 cop. each, per annum.

The order of St. Andrew, the first in point of creation as in importance, was instituted by Peter the Great, on his return from his travels abroad. The first knight was Count Feodor Alexeïvitsch Golovine, chancellor, field-marshal, and high-admiral of Russia, who, in his turn, invested Peter I. with it, as a reward for his memorable naval victory over the Swedes.

The order of St. Catherine was instituted in commemoration of the deliverance of Peter I.

* The silver ruble is equivalent to 4 francs, or thereabouts; the assignat ruble to 1 fr. 11 c.

at the battle of Pruth by the Empress Catherine I. This order has two classes, those of the great and the little cross. The ribbon is red, with a silver border, and is worn over the right shoulder. The cross is white, placed upon the hand of St. Catherine, and in the centre is another small cross, with rays and the four Roman letters, D. S. F. R. (Domine, salvum fac Regem). On the cross is inscribed in Russian the motto of the order, *For Love and Country*. The star is of silver, with a cross of the same metal in a field gules, surrounded by the motto. The dress is silver stuff, embroidered with gold; the sash and hat are of black velvet.

The office of deaconess of the order belongs to the next highest personage to the Imperial family. It devolves by right to the reigning Empress, when that of mistress of the order is held by the dowager Empress.

There are twelve members of the great cross, exclusively of the ladies of the Imperial family, and ninety-four of the little. The

order cannot be conferred on any but noble ladies.

It is allowed 1278 silver rubles per annum for six ladies of the great cross, and 2428 rubles for twelve of the little, including five members of the clergy.

The obligations of the lady-knights of this order consist in thanking God every day for the deliverance of Peter I.; in praying for the health of the Emperor and his family; in reading the Pater Noster thrice every Sunday; in striving to convert infidels to the Greek religion; and in delivering, at their expense, a Christian out of the hands of barbarians. These ladies are, moreover, charged with the superintendence of the institution of St. Catherine; and those who are decorated with the great cross have a right to place in it one pupil each.

The order of St. Alexander Newsky has but a single class. The ribbon is red, and is worn on the left shoulder, with a cross of gold in red enamel, adorned with four eagles with

two heads crowned. On one side is represented Alexander on horseback, and on the other his cipher in Roman letters under a princely crown. The robe is of red velvet, lined with white, the upper vest embroidered with silver; and the hat is black, with a white feather.

Twelve knights, including five ecclesiastics, receive 7014 rubles, 28 cop., per annum. Each knight pays 180 rubles at his admission.

The order of the White Eagle has also but a single class. The decorations consist of a dark blue ribbon, worn over the left shoulder, with a two-headed black eagle of gold and crowned, in which is seen a red cross with a white one-headed eagle. The star is of gold, and is worn on the left side. The motto is, *Pro fide, rege, et lege*. The members pay 150 rubles on admission.

The order of St. George was founded by Catherine II., on the 26th of November, 1769. It has four degrees: for the first, the ribbon has three black and two yellow stripes, and

is worn over the right shoulder beneath the uniform. The star is square, of gold, with a field of gold, the cipher of St. George in a black ring, and the motto in Russian, "For service and courage." The star is worn on the right side. The cross is of white enamel, with the arms of Moscow, or the image of St. George piercing the dragon. The second degree is distinguished by the star and cross worn about the neck. The third has the cross only about the neck, and the fourth at the button-hole.

The upper vest is of orange-coloured velvet with black crosses. There is a separate subdivision for soldiers, the decoration of which is a cross of silver.

This order is given gratis. The pensions are of 200 rubles for the knights of the first class, 114 rubles 28 cop. for those of the second, 57 rubles 14 cop. for those of the third, and 28 rubles 57 cop. for the knights of the fourth class. The annual pensions of this order amount to 10971 rubles.

The order of St. George is given for military exploits, such as the taking of an enemy's fortress, or the defence of one of the fortresses of the empire, and the capture of ships, cannon, colours, or generals. It is conferred also on the author of a piece of information which decides the victory, or on one who cuts his way through the enemy's ranks. The marshals and commanders-in-chief may, in time of war, decorate their subordinates with the fourth and fifth class of St. George, with or without the participation of the council of the order, composed of at least seven knights. The first two classes are conferred by the Emperor himself. The order of St. George is also given for twenty-five years' military service, or for twenty campaigns on land or eighteen at sea. In this case the cross must bear an inscription stating the fact.

The order of St. Wladimir was created on the 22nd of September, 1782, in memory of the twenty-first anniversary of the coronation of the Empress Catherine II. It is composed

of four classes. The ribbon has a red stripe between two black ones, all three of equal dimensions. It is worn upon the right shoulder, over the coat, if the knight has not superior orders, and under it upon the waistcoat, if he has another more ancient. The star is octagon, with angles of gold and silver alternately, with a circular black field, surrounded with a black ring, and adorned with a gold cross, around which are the Russian initials of the saint, S. R. K. W.

The motto is, *Utility, Honour, and Glory.* The cross is red, with the cipher of St. Wladimir, surmounted by a crown on one side, and on the other by the date of the institution of the order.

The second class wears the great cross about the neck with a star at the left side; the third, the smaller cross about the neck, and the fourth at the button-hole. When the order is a reward for military exploits this latter is accompanied with a cockade.

This decoration is obtained as well for

services known to the Emperor himself, as for having restored order in some neglected part of the administration; for having instigated or prepared others for the service; for having unravelled, terminated, or prevented law-suits. It is besides obtained for having saved ten persons; for having afforded relief to a locality in famine, or when suffering from any other public calamity; for having contributed to give plenty to one's district by agricultural operations; for every plan which has produced to the crown at least 30,000 silver rubles; for an invention which has served to increase the national wealth; for any work adopted as classical; for thirty-five years' active, irreproachable, and zealous civil service, or twenty-five only in the Trans-Caucasian provinces. Every supreme testimony of satisfaction abridges this term by a year. The medical man who has vaccinated 3000 persons in one year enjoys the same prerogative.

Such nobles as have been thrice invested with the elective functions, and have been

elected a fourth time to the offices of marshals of the nobility, curators of the gymnasium, deputies, or secretaries, and the commoners who have fulfilled the same condition in the quarantines, have also a right to this order. If any of them have during their functions obtained the decoration by way of special distinction, the law would by this very circumstance be accomplished in regard to them.

For payment of the pensions of this order, there is assigned the sum of 1714 silver rubles $28\frac{1}{7}$ cop. The knights of the first class receive 171 rubles $42\frac{6}{7}$ cop.; those of the second 85 rubles $71\frac{3}{7}$ cop.; those of the third 57 rubles $14\frac{2}{7}$ cop.; and those of the fourth 28 rubles $57\frac{1}{7}$ cop.

On the death of a knight, his wife enjoys the pension for one year only. The knights of the first two degrees have the entry at court on an equality with functionaries of the fourth class, and those of the two others with the *employés* of the sixth class.

The knights of the first degree pay at their

reception 180 silver rubles; those of the second 60, of the third 30, and of the fourth 9. Those on whom the decoration has been conferred for thirty-five years' service pay nothing.

The commander-in-chief of an army is authorized in time of war to create of his own accord knights of the fourth class, with cockade, for brilliant exploits.

The order of St. Anne is likewise composed of four classes. For the first, the ribbon is red, with a yellow stripe, and is worn on the left side. The cross is red, with the image of St. Anne on one side and her cipher on the other. The star, of silver, worn on the right, has the motto, *Amantem justitiam, pietatem, fidem.* The second class wear the cross about the neck; the third at the button-hole, and the fourth on the sword or sabre, without ribbon, just as it appears on the star. This latter is retained with the superior orders. In the first and second class, a crown is added to the cross, which forms a particular distinction;

and in the third class a cockade for military exploits; in the fourth the inscription *For valour*, which is placed on the weapon, adorned with a cross. There is, besides, a fifth subdivision for soldiers, who have served twenty years. This is a gilt medal, with the image of the cross, suspended from a red and yellow ribbon.

This order was added to the Russian orders on the 5th of April, 1797; but the anniversary is held on the 3rd of February, in memory of Anna Petrovna.

It may be conferred on any ecclesiastic who has converted at least one hundred persons not Christians, or one hundred heretics, persuaded rebellious slaves to return to their duty, or set a good example to the soldiers; to him who has distinguished himself in the sciences, erected convents or churches otherwise than at the expense of the Crown, or who has filled with distinction gratuitous offices for at least five years. It is granted to military officers for the command of a detached corps of greater force

than a company or a squadron, upon condition, however, that, in the first case, this corps shall have retained a distinguished place among the troops, and that the number of the sick, and of those expelled for misconduct shall not have exceeded one per cent.

In the civil service, this order may be granted to any one who has in three years amicably settled ten lawsuits begun about matters of sufficient importance to authorize an appeal to the Senate; to him who, in the office of judge of the peace, shall have conciliated all disputes submitted to him, and not suffered any of them to take a judicial course. He has also a right to it who has ensured the welfare of widows and orphans, and unveiled the condition of the poor; he who has procured for the Government a particular and unforeseen advantage; who has risked his life or his fortune for the public weal; or directed, without the aid of authority, a public seminary for youth for ten years, to the general satisfaction. The private tutor receives this order, after

fifteen years' labour, if he is an hereditary noble; after twenty years, if he is a personal noble; and after twenty-five years, if he is neither.

The presentations for this order take place through the chapter, and are decided by ballot in the council, which is composed of twelve knights, the oldest of each degree who are at St. Petersburg in the month of December in every year.

In war time, the commander-in-chief of an army may confer the second, third, and fourth degrees of this order.

In the first class, twenty commanders, four of whom are ecclesiastics, receive each a pension of 228 silver rubles $57\frac{1}{7}$ cop.; twenty others, four of whom are ecclesiastics, are paid 114 silver rubles $28\frac{4}{7}$ cop.

In the second class, twenty commanders, two of whom are ecclesiastics, receive 100 silver rubles; forty-two, eight of whom are priests, 71 rubles $42\frac{6}{7}$ cop.; and thirty-six

pensioners, six of whom are priests, 71 silver rubles 42$\frac{6}{7}$ cop*.

In the third class, ninety knights receive 57 rubles 14$\frac{2}{7}$ cop.; ninety others 42 rubles 85$\frac{5}{7}$ cop.

In the fourth class, ninety knights are paid 34 rubles 28$\frac{4}{7}$ cop.; and ninety others 98 rubles 57$\frac{1}{7}$ cop.

The knights of the first class pay, at their nomination, 60 rubles, and on every promotion, 75 rubles; those of the second, 30 rubles; those of the third, 18; and those of the fourth, 9 silver rubles.

The order of St. Stanislaus is established to reward those who shall have contributed to the welfare of the Russian empire and of the kingdom of Poland, *which is inseparable from it* (Art. 621), by such services as shall have attracted the notice of the Emperor.

* This latter sum is, no doubt, incorrect. The author seems to have repeated the preceding amount by mistake. *Translator.*

There are three degrees: one, the fourth or the second, was abolished on the 28th of May, 1839. Those who had it previously have retained the right of wearing a star with the cross about the neck. This order comes after that of St. Anne. The knights of the first class of this last order do not wear at the same time either the ribbon or the star of St. Stanislaus, but the cross about the neck.

The cross is red, enamelled red, with four branches, each divided into two, and adorned with small gold balls. In the middle there is a circle of white enamel, with a green border, and a laurel of the same colour, enclosing in red the Roman letters S.S. In the angles of the cross on the four sides are Russian two-headed eagles of gold. The reverse is of gold, with a white border and the cipher.

The ribbon is red, two inches and a half broad, with a double white embroidered border, and is worn on the right shoulder; the star is placed on the left side. It is of silver, with eight rays, and the border, similar to

that of the cross, bears the motto, *Præmiando incitat.*

The decoration of the second degree is worn about the neck, and has two sub-divisions, one with, the other without, crown. That of the third is worn at the button-hole.

The festival of the order is held on the 25th of April (7th of May with us). The first and second degree are left at the disposal of the Emperor. The third is conferred, exclusively of services known to his Majesty, for acts of beneficence; on those who have sacrificed their fortune for the public good or for that of the service; on persons who have filled a useful office without pay, or performed a duty beyond the sphere of their ordinary functions for a year. It is likewise granted for inventions and works of incontestable utility, for setting to rights a complicated business, and for the discovery of heinous abuses and crimes. It may be bestowed on a private tutor for fifteen years' service, if he is an hereditary noble; for twenty years' if he is a

personal noble; and for twenty-five years' if he is not noble.

Whoever has, agreeably to the statutes, deserved the order, has a right to solicit it through the medium of his superiors, if he is or or has been in the service, or through the head of the government, if he has retired. This third degree can be conferred by a council composed of twelve knights of each degree, under the presidency of a *grand-cordon*, by a nomination by ballot, the result of which is submitted to the decision of the Emperor.

The chief of an active army may confer the St. Stanislaus of the second and third class for brilliant military exploits.

At the time of his promotion, each knight of the first degree pays 90 rubles, of the second; 30, of the third, 15. This money is destined for charitable purposes specified by the Emperor.

Persons who have received this order since the 17th (29th) of November, 1831, the day of its annexation to the Russian orders

are thereby hereditary nobles: those who obtained it before are not so, if they are not decorated with the first degree. The Russian ecclesiastics do not receive this order, and the members of the Roman Catholic clergy acquire with this decoration the right of *personal* nobility only*. Merchants are personal nobles if they obtained this decoration before the 10th (22nd) April, 1832, and hereditary honorary citizens if they received it since.

There are thirty pensioners of the first degree, at 142 silver rubles 88 $\frac{5}{7}$ cop. per annum; sixty of the second, at 114 rubles 28 $\frac{4}{7}$ cop.; ninety of the third, at 85 rubles 71 $\frac{3}{7}$ cop. each.

The pensioner who passes to a superior degree loses the pension which he was receiving, and must wait his turn for the pension of the new degree. He has to send back to

* The Russian law, though ingenuous enough to say it, is not sufficiently so to add that it is because the Romish ecclesiastics are not susceptible of having children.—(Decree of May 28th, 1839.)

the chapter the insignia which he had previously worn. It is the same when a knight dies; and, if the insignia are then lost, the heirs have to make good their value. The knights who turn monks lose the order and the pension. On the death of a pensioned knight, his wife enjoys the pension for one year.

The heirs of a military knight killed in war are exempt from the obligation to return his insignia, or to pay the value of them.

The *decoration of the irreproachable service* is not an order; it is a mere mark of distinction. It consists of a square gilt brooch, with a laurel, in the middle of which are Roman figures, specifying the years of service. It is placed on a ribbon of the order of St. George for military men, and of St. Wladimir for civil functionaries. This decoration was instituted on the 22nd of August, 1827, in commemoration of the coronation of the Emperor Nicholas, which took place on that day in the preceding year. It is conferred on the anniversary of

its institution, and is worn below the real orders as being inferior to them. It is given for fifteen years' service, and is renewed every five years.

Neither knights of St. George, after twenty-five years' service, of St. Wladimir, after thirty-five years, nor those of the most important orders, are dispensed from wearing this brooch, which is prescribed to be placed below the second button-hole.

Artists have no right to this distinction but for the time passed in the service, commencing with their reception into an order of knighthood*. The masters of relays, and persons who have no *tschinn*, have no effective right to it.

No kind of diminution is to be obtained in the terms required for the brooch. Leaves of absence for more than twenty-nine days are deducted from the time of service thus calcu-

* A general disposition forbids the grant of an order before a person has received the brooch.

ated; the service of an *employé*, who, in the space of fifteen years has thrice changed the line of service, is declared invalid, whenever he has remained for less than three years in the same post. Any default in a half year may cause the loss of a year's service, unless sufficient causes can be assigned to satisfy authority; default of four months wholly takes away the right to the brooch. Reprimands entered in the statements of service entail the loss of a year; and arrest, accompanied with formality, delays the obtaining of the decoration for three years. The institution deprives of their right to this distinction those who have been brought before a court of justice, and have not gone out of it acquitted, whether they have been left under the reproach of suspicion, or have been pardoned by an Imperial proclamation, or all proceedings of justice in regard to them have been suspended; but if after this they complete fifteen years' irreproachable service, the brooch will be conferred on them. Those who have been dis-

charged for want of proofs against them are considered as innocent.

The definitive grant of the brooch belongs to a council composed of generals-in-chief, or actual privy councillors chosen by the Emperor, under the presidency of the oldest of them, or of the functionary of the first class, if he is of the number. This council meets every year, on the 20th of July at latest, and sits in the Winter Palace. The sanction of the Emperor is required for its decisions to render them valid.

Three silver rubles are paid for each brooch. Persons invested with it may place it in their coat of arms and on their seals.

The brooch is not taken away from one who has obtained it for misdeeds which would have prevented the grant of it; but it is not replaced by that which he would have received for the five years during which he has been in fault. If he serves irreproachably for the next five years, the brooch is conferred for that period. If the misdeed is committed before

the grant of the brooch, but after the time for obtaining it is completed, the case is submitted to the decision of the Emperor.

The *Mary mark* was instituted on the 14th of October, 1828, in memory of the Empress Maria Feodorovna, the mother of Nicholas. It is conferred on ladies for irreproachable service. It is of two degrees; in the first the decoration is worn on the shoulder, in the second on the bosom. For the former the cross is with four branches, and of gold, enamelled with blue; It bears the cipher of Maria Feodorovna; in the centre is a laurel, with the number of years' service in Roman figures. The badge of the second degree is a blue medallion, with the two figures. The ribbon is that of the order of St. Wladimir. This decoration is destined for ladies of the classes, as they are called, mistresses, directresses, and inspectresses of the institutions which were under the immediate superintendence of the Empress-mother. The first degree is given to ladies who have passed twenty-five years and upwards in these

functions, aud the second to those who have been from fifteen to twenty-five years. Every five years the figures are renewed. Claims of this decoration are discussed in a council established at the beneficent institutions, and the decisions of which are confirmed by the Emperor. This mark of distinction is never forfeited.

Officers of the army receive sabres and swords adorned with gold, sometimes with stras*, without any expense, having an inscription recording their bravery. Commanders-in-chief of large armies are authorized to grant them for gallant actions and brilliant exploits.

For saving the lives of persons in danger, gold and silver medals with ribbons of St. Wladimir are conferred.

The mayors of parishes who continue with distinction for nine years in their posts, and

* False diamonds, so called after the inventor.—*Translator.*

are re-elected for three years longer, receive medals, which they wear about the neck if they are not noble. Vaccinators are likewise rewarded with medals. Distinguished planters in the Caucasus and New Russia, peasants who excel in the cultivation of the potato, the superior workmen in manufactories, Jews settled on the lands of the crown, who distinguish themselves as agriculturists, are entitled to the same rewards. Pilots, quarantine officers, schoolmasters, after ten years' functions, obtain medals with the ribbon of St. Alexander. The chiefs of peasants, for nine years' service, also have them with the ribbons of St. Anne.

Medals obtained for saving a person's life, or for any other act of humanity, are not liable to any impost. The others pay, according to their ribbons, a fee of from 7 to 150 silver rubles. Persons having medals worn about the neck are exempt from the recruiting, and the others from corporal punishments.

There are, moreover, *kaftans* of distinction, of cloth, velvet, or damask, either in uniform fashion or not. These kaftans are destined particularly for peasant functionaries.

Chapter IV.

OF THE HIGH COURTS, ADMINISTRATIVE, LEGISLATIVE, AND JUDICIAL.

THE COUNCIL OF THE EMPIRE.

The attributions of the council of the empire include all matters requiring the promulgation of a new law, or the modification, explanation, or complement of an existing law; every extraordinary measure in the department of internal administration or external policy, as peace or war, when it can be subjected to a previous examination; special questions relating to finances, the fixing of the budget, and

the regulation of the taxes, the expropriation of individuals for the sake of the public interest, or the transfer of a property of the Crown into the possession of private persons, patents for inventions, &c. This council decides on the grant and the withdrawing of letters of nobility, and directs proceedings against accused ministers and governors-general, with the authorization of the Emperor. It takes cognizance of suits on which the Senate has been divided, or the conclusion of which has not obtained the sanction of the Minister of Justice.

The council of the empire is divided into departments, which we will also call sections, or meets in general assembly. The members of the departments are members of the general assembly, which comprehends others not belonging to them.

There are five departments: 1. that of justice; 2, war; 3, religion and civil affairs; 4, economy; and 5, affairs of Poland.

The members of the departments are nominated every six months by the Emperor him-

self, and are composed of a president and at least three members for each department. The sections can summon to their assistance and consult persons of whose knowledge they wish to avail themselves. For matters which concern several departments at once, these can meet and deliberate in common.

The members of the council of the empire can at the same time be invested with any other office in the judicial or administrative line. The ministers are by right members of the council of the empire, but they cannot be nominated presidents in the sections. The president of the general assembly is the Emperor himself, and in his absence the person whom he thinks proper to appoint once a year. The vice-president is the one of the presidents of departments who is of the longest standing.

The general assembly sits in the following order:—The president occupies the middle of the hall; on his right are placed the members not belonging to the departments; on his left

the ministers, and opposite to him the members of the sections, with their presidents at their head. In the centre, facing the president, is the secretary of the empire, assisted by a secretary of state and two under-secretaries.

The members speak standing. If several rise at once, the preference is given to the oldest in rank. Amendments to projects under discussion must be presented in writing. The votes are entered beside the name of each member, and the decisions are recorded in the minutes. At the conclusion of each sitting, the order of the day for the next is made known. In the departments members take rank according to the *tschinns*.

When any extraordinary measure is in agitation, the affair is sent directly to the general assembly, by command of the Emperor. The departments refer to it those matters on which their members cannot agree, or for which they have come to a decision cancelling a decree of the Senate, or on which they disagree with

the Minister from whom the affair in question emanates.

The council of the empire can refer to the Senate affairs in which the latter has not taken into consideration some important document, in order that it may undergo revision.

The secretary of the empire submits the decisions of the council to the confirmation of the Emperor. The affairs of Poland are laid before him in minutes, whenever they have not been debated in the general assembly; and the others in the form of memorials, signed by the president or the vice-president, and by the secretary of the empire. The will of the Emperor decides the affair definitively, even though it should be in favour of the opinion of the minority. In case of lengthened absence of the Emperor, his Majesty himself fixes the extent of the power which the council of the empire is called upon to exercise in the interim.

Attached to the council is a chancellery, under the direction of the secretary of the

empire. It is composed of seven sections, each of which has at its head a secretary of state, excepting the last two—that of archives, and that of the affairs of the secretaryship of the empire, which are managed by assistants.

THE COMMITTEE OF THE MINISTERS.

The committee of the ministry is composed of all the ministers and chiefs of separate administrations completing the ministerial organization, such as the chief of the staff of the navy, of ways and communications, of the posts, the comptroller of the empire, &c., likewise of the presidents of the departments in the council of the empire, and of persons specially designated by the Emperor.

The president is chosen by the sovereign; in default of which the presidency, as in cases of the illness of the holder of an office, devolves to the oldest member in rank.

The committee meets twice a week, in winter at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and

once a week in summer at ten. In case of important business, the president can summon an extraordinary meeting. The members sit according to seniority of rank.

The attributions of the committee of the ministers embrace all business which requires the combined action of several ministries, and embarrasses a minister, or exceeds his competence, and renders the supreme resolution necessary. The ministers are bound, moreover, to submit to the committee accounts for each year of their administration, as well as to refer for its decision, in extraordinary cases, matters concerning the public safety, or the subsistence of the people, the causes of heretics, the reprimands to be given to governors, the rewards and pensions to be granted to the civil *employés*.

The Governor-General of Finland is likewise authorised to refer to the committee all affairs that demand the concurrence of two administrations, but without requiring modifications in the legislation of the duchy.

The decisions of the committee do not receive the force of law till they have the sanction of the Emperor. From this rule are exempted only the unanimous decisions of the committee concerning pensions and the momentary aid to be afforded to *employés*, and the affairs of the heretics, excepting extraordinary cases. The changes to be made in the legislation are previously submitted to the second section of the chancellery of the Emperor, specially charged with the framing of the laws.

The committee of the ministers exercises no executive power, and leaves the duty of fulfilling its decisions to the minister to whose department the matter in litigation belongs.

The chancellery of the committee is composed of several sections, an office of general despatch, and a division of archives.

THE SENATE.

The senate is the high judicial court of Russia: the dispenser and director of justice, it attends to the execution of the laws and to regularity in the administration.

Its members are nominated by the Emperor from among the dignitaries of the first three classes, whether civil or military. The president is the Emperor himself; the ministers have seats there, but not their substitutes. The governors-general and the military governors are admitted.

The senate is divided into eleven departments, six of which reside in St. Petersburg, three in Moscow, and two in Warsaw. The presidents are appointed by the Emperor. The number of the senators is unlimited; but the minimum of the members who must be present before deliberations can be held is fixed at three for the departments of St. Petersburg and Moscow, and five for Warsaw. The

Minister of Justice makes up the number, in case of need, by the youngest of the senators of the corresponding departments. In each department sits a grand attorney, who attends to the regularity of business.

The first department is charged with the promulgation of the laws and their despatch to the competent authorities, with the verification of the civic rights of all those who are neither nobles nor serfs, with the naturalization of foreigners, with the superintendence of the elections, with the appointment and dismissal of *employés*. It settles all disputes that arise between the different tribunals, and takes cognizance of suits between the Crown and individuals.

The second, third, and fourth departments at St. Petersburg, the seventh and eighth at Moscow, and the ninth at Warsaw, take cognizance in appeal of civil affairs; the fifth at Petersburg, the sixth at Moscow, and the tenth at Warsaw, are charged with criminal matters. Each of these departments exercises

jurisdiction over a definite number of governments which form its district. The attributions of the surveying department are sufficiently indicated by its name, and extend to the whole empire.

The departments meet in certain cases and form general assemblies; there are two in St. Petersburg, composed, the one of the first three and the other of the last three departments, under the presidency of the oldest president, and under the superintendence of the Minister of Justice. The three departments of Moscow form a single general assembly, as do likewise the two at Warsaw, under the presidency of the lieutenant of the kingdom. Honorary senators are not admitted into it.

The general assemblies take cognizance of all matters upon which the members of the departments could not agree.

The first, at St. Petersburg, besides trying culpable senators, decides upon the promotion of *employés* as high as the sixth class, and confirms the titles of nobles. The oldest

senators in rank supply the places of the presidents in case of their absence, at general assemblies as well as at particular meetings. The ministers have seats in the first department, and the Minister of Justice, with his assistant, attends the general assemblies.

These are held once a week. The Minister of Justice likewise causes the senators to be summoned to an extraordinary sitting, on all business that admits not of delay. The sittings open at ten o'clock. Every week, the Minister of Justice makes his report to the Emperor concerning the members absent, or who came too late. The senators invested with some particular office cannot absent themselves from the general assemblies, and must attend at least twice a week in the departments. The ministers and governors are alone exempt from this obligation. The vacation of the senate takes place in summer; and business is submitted to the assemblies only by extracts. In the departments, matters are decided by unanimity. If a disagreement arises respect-

ing the manner in which questions ought to be put, and it cannot be decided by a simple majority, the youngest member of another department is then called upon to vote. The senator who does not adopt the opinion of the majority is authorized to express his own in writing, but within eight days at furthest for the departments, and in the next sitting for the general assemblies. His colleagues may then recall their vote. Members absent at the time of the meetings of the departments are required to signify their opinion, but that is not the case with the general assemblies. The vote of a minister is not counted on matters which he has himself presented to the senate, or which come within the sphere of his ministry. The grand attorney strives in writing to reconcile opinions; if he is unsuccessful he refers the matter in dispute to the general assembly. The same course is pursued when the attorney, on his part, does not adopt the decision of the department; but he must first obtain the authorization of the Minister of Justice.

In the general assemblies the majority is two-thirds of the votes. If it cannot be obtained there, the Minister of Justice refers the matter to a consultation of the assembled grand attorneys, assisted by his deputy and a jurist. A fortnight is allowed them to study the question. In case of disagreement, the voice of the minister is preponderant. When such cases come before the senate of Moscow, the consultation takes place at St. Petersburg. The affair is then carried back to the general assembly; and if a majority is not obtained, or rather, if the Minister of Justice continues to be of a different opinion from that which prevails, he then refers to the Emperor through the medium of the council of the empire.

The senate acknowledges no power above it but that of the Emperor. The subordinate authorities cannot defer the execution of its decrees, unless there is contradiction in its prescriptions, and then they are bound to lay the difficulty before the senate itself. The latter may transmit to his Majesty its obser-

vations on the existing laws, through the medium of the Minister of Justice, in as far as they require complement, explanation, or modification, in consequence of other contradictory laws; but it is strictly forbidden to take advantage of the imperial clemency in particular cases, for the purpose of authorizing exceptions to the laws, or to take the liberty to make any observation on laws recently promulgated by the Emperor.

If the senate discovers any abuses in the ministries, it apprizes the ministers; and if it obtains no satisfactory explanations, it refers the matter to his Majesty. It sends reprimands to the governors for negligences committed without any ill intention, and, in case of repetition, it publishes them; but if they are of such a nature as to draw punishment upon the parties, it applies for the authorization of the Emperor. The senate cannot of itself alter *a letter* in the existing laws, or modify its own dispositions, without the consent of his Majesty. There is no appeal

from the senate unless to the Emperor, who then causes the matter to be reconsidered by the general assembly of the senate, if it has been decided upon in a department, and by the council of the empire if it has been discussed in general assembly. Whoever prefers an unfounded complaint against the senate is brought to trial. Accordingly, the complainant is obliged, in every case, to certify in writing that he is acquainted with the severity of the existing laws on this subject.

"Every senator, as a worthy son of his country, having always in view his duty to God, the State, and the law, ought to be mindful that the obligation which is imposed upon him as judge consists in considering his country as his family, and honour as a friend; in examining with care the applications that are made to him, in amending his errors, in changing and prosecuting suspected judges; and above all in seeking the means of establishing the truth, and not of gaining time.

"Every senator is obliged as a duty of

conscience to make his report on every misdeed that is committed in the country, and on all the violations of the law that come to his knowledge*.

Each department has its chancellery. The first general assembly of St. Petersburg, and that of Moscow, have, moreover, each of them a particular chancellery. They are under the orders of the grand attorneys appointed by the Minister of Justice, who is the supreme chief of all the chancelleries of the senate.

The greatest anomaly which exists in the organization of the senate is the exorbitant power assigned to the public ministry, which can suspend or annul by its veto the decisions of the majority in the departments by the voice of the Grand Attorney, and of unanimity in the general assemblies by the voice of the Minister of Justice. Is the cause of this that the senators, taken at random from the army or the civil administration, are ignorant in matters of law? But if one cannot or knows

* *Swod.*, vol. I., book 3, sec. 1, art. 247 and 248.

not how to remedy this evil, ought one not at least to avoid taking generals or diplomatists for ministers of justice, as has been done hitherto; and, even if men of learning were appointed, their right to paralyze the decisions of the senate ought to be confined to cases of the violation of laws; and, above all, business ought not to be suffered to be protracted by granting delays to attorneys and to the ministers to draw up their opinion in set form. The Russian senators are not proof against offers of money made more or less adroitly; but it is easier to bribe a single individual than an assembly, and the Imperial attorneys are in fact in Russia, both in the senate and in the governments, the only dispensers of justice.

THE SYNOD.

It is at present composed of eight members and four assistants, a chancellery, the administration of ecclesiastical instruction, the eccle-

siastical administration, and the chancellery of the grand attorney of the synod.

The eparchies are divided into three classes. The first comprises the four metropolitan sees of Kiev, Novgorod, Moscow, and Petersburg. The second class contains eighteen archbishoprics, and the third twenty-six bishoprics and the three eparchies of Georgia.

The ecclesiastical instruction is divided into three districts, those of Kiev, Moscow, and Petersburg, with the same number of academies, and forty-five seminaries.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE MINISTRIES.

There are nine ministries in Russia; 1, the Ministry of the Interior; 2, that of Finances; 3, of Public Instruction; 4, of Justice; 5, of the Domains; 6, of War; 7, of Foreign Affairs; 8, of the Court; 9, of the Marine. There are, besides, three administrations equivalent to ministries, namely, 1, the Control of the Empire; 2, the Department of Ways of Communication and Public Buildings; 3, that of the Posts.

There are in every ministry several directions, which are called in Russia departments, the

council of the minister, and the chancellery of the ministry. The directions are divided into sections, and the sections into bureaux. The council of the minister is composed of all the directors and of the under-minister, under the presidency of the minister. To these the Emperor can add particular members, and the council itself can desire the attendance of persons not belonging to the ministry, whose opinion it may have occasion to ask. Each direction may also meet in *general assembly*, composed of all the chiefs of section, under the presidency of the director, who can, with the authorization of the minister, summon to the meeting persons unconnected with the administration, for questions relative to science, art, and industry. Most of the directions have particular chancelleries.

The ministers are chosen by the Emperor; the directors by the minister, with the assent of the Emperor; the other functionaries are appointed and removed on the presentation of the director, by the minister, and the

quite subordinate *employés* by the director alone.

The power of the ministers is exclusively executive. They cannot modify any law, and are obliged to have recourse to the council of the empire about every thing that relates to legislation. When, in the sphere of their duties, they encounter difficulties which it does not belong to them to resolve by themselves; when they feel the necessity of some changes, or that they must take measures which require the concurrence of the other powers; they have to refer to the Senate, or, in important circumstances, to the Emperor, through the medium of the committee of the ministers. In like manner, they have recourse to the Senate on all matters within its competence, such as the moving of *employés* and judicial causes.

Every year, on the 1st of August, all the ministers deliver to the Minister of the Finances an estimate of the expenses necessary for their department. The latter refers it to the council of the empire, and, on its authoriza-

tion, opens the credits demanded. Every month the ministers give notice to the treasury of the sums which are necessary for them.

Ministerial responsibility is incurred in two cases—when the minister deviates arbitrarily from the laws, or when he occasions abuses, or does harm by his negligence. He is not answerable for the mischievous effects of the measures which he has proposed, but which have been approved by the Senate or the Emperor. In case of abuses, his Majesty decides whether there is occasion to prosecute; and the council of the empire takes upon itself the investigation and the proceedings. If these prove that the minister has rendered himself unworthy of the confidence of the Emperor, he is removed from office; and if they bring to light serious offences, he has to appear before the criminal tribunal.

The under-ministers supply the place of the ministers during their absence or illness, sit in the council, and can direct such a branch of

the department as their principals choose to commit to their care. In general, it is matters which are not of sufficient importance to require the attention of the ministers themselves that are thus transferred to them. They are thought to acquire in this post the capacity requisite for becoming ministers in their turn; but this plan succeeds very ill with persons who have not previously received a certain education; and, for those who are qualified to manage a ministry, the time passed in this secondary post is absolutely thrown away, while the post itself is but an additional embarrassment for the general administration. If civilized countries can well dispense with these doubles of ministers, why should not Russia be able to do so? And again, since the ministers of foreign affairs, of war, and of the marine, have no need for this kind of assistants, why should not the ministers of the interior and of finances be able to do without them?

The Ministry of the Interior is composed of six directions; a particular section of statistics

with its chancellery, a council of medicine, a chancellery, and an ordinary council.

The *Direction of the Executive Police* is charged with internal order, the judicial and penal police, and the collection of the taxes.

The *Economical Direction* attends to matters of subsistence, concurs in the supply of the army, superintends the corn magazines, draws up statements of the crops, and plans of towns and villages, regulates all that concerns fairs and markets. It has likewise under its charge the charitable institutions, the houses of correction, and the insurance companies.

The *Direction of Foreign Religions* has three sections, and a bureau instead of chancellery.

The *Direction of Medicine* is engaged with the placing and superintendence of physicians, apothecaries, veterinary surgeons, and midwives. Its attributions embrace the civil hospitals, mineral waters, vaccination, and the quarantines.

The *Direction of Medical Preparations* is

charged to supply the army, the navy, and some establishments of the civil administration with medicines and surgical instruments; it has also to keep up the pharmaceutic establishments of the Crown, and the medicinal magazines and gardens. The general assembly of the direction is composed, under the presidency of the director, of three councillors, one of whom is called the elder, and must be a physician or apothecary.

The *Direction of General Affairs* receives the orders of the Sovereign and ensures their execution, makes the necessary arrangements for the journeys of the Emperor, attends to the promotion of the governors: it is charged moreover, with secret and pressing matters, the naturalization of foreigners, the elections, and crimes against the religion of the country.

The *Council of Medicine* is the supreme court in matters of scientific and legal medicine. Its president must be a physician, and chosen by the Emperor, on the presentation of the minister. The directors of the medical

divisions of the Ministries of the Interior and of War, the physician in chief of the staff of the navy, and the physician inspector of the council of guardianship, are members of this council, as is also a physician of the ministry of public instruction. The other members are elected by the council itself, and confirmed by the minister. From among these latter the council has to choose a secretary. It meets twice a week, unless particular circumstances call it together. It has a chancellery, the sections of which have physicians for their chiefs. To the council belongs the censorship of medical works and prospectuses, and that of books treating of cookery and economical chemistry: it is charged with the appreciation of discoveries in medicine, with the publication of the instructions necessary in case of contagious diseases, with the examination of medical men coming from abroad, with the verification of the *post-mortem* examinations of persons struck with sudden death, &c.

The *Section of Statistics* forms part of the

council of the ministry. The under-minister is president, and the directors form part of it; the minister adds to them certain members of his council; strangers may be summoned to it for the purpose of furnishing information; the section has correspondents, which it chooses itself. One of its members, appointed by the minister, is charged with its administration. It meets once a week, and has a chancellery, an architect, a geometrician, and a bureau of drawing. It is charged with the verification of the plans of new towns, projects of territorial divisions of the empire, &c.

The Ministry of the Finances is composed of the direction of internal manufactures and commerce, that of external commerce, of contributions and rents, of the treasury, of the administration of the mints, mines, and salt-works, with the corps of the mines, and the staff of the engineers of the mines. It has, moreover, three chancelleries—the general chancellery, the secret chancellery, and that of credit.

The *Direction of Internal Manufactures and Commerce* has annexed to it a special council, called council of manufactures, which, under the presidency of the chief of the direction, is composed of persons versed in the subject, selected from the nobility and traders, six from each class, two professors of chemistry and mineralogy, and a technologist. This council has a section at Moscow, and committees and correspondents in the other towns. The section of Moscow is composed of four nobles, four merchants, a chemist, and a mechanician; its president is at the same time president of the committee for the supply of the army with cloth. The director of the council of St. Petersburg is the chief of the first section of the direction; an *employé* of the committee is chief of the section of Moscow. The members have no salaries.

The functions of the council of manufactures consist in completing the statistical information received from the governors respecting manufactures, in promoting their development and

improvement, in delivering patents, privileges, &c.

The *Council of Commerce* is composed of four merchants of the first guild engaged in internal trade, four others in external trade, and four foreign traders. The minister can, with the consent of the assembly and the authorization of the Emperor, add to them such persons whose concurrence may be deemed useful.

There are sections of this council at Moscow, Riga, Archangel, Odessa, and Taganrog. They are composed of traders of the first and second guild, and of foreign merchants, two of each class, chosen by the chief of each government out of twelve persons presented to him by the assembly of traders. The members may, upon occasion, amount to six or twelve, but not exceed that number.

The chiefs of the directions of manufactures and external commerce have seats in the council. When questions common to both come before them, the council of commerce may be united with that of manufactures.

The *Scientific Committee of the Corps of Engineers of the Mines* superintends the working of the mines; it corresponds with foreign scientific men, and the *employés* of the ministry residing abroad; it is also charged with the publication of the Journal of Mines. A general of artillery and an admiral belong to the committee, all the members of which must be confirmed by the Emperor. The chiefs of the mines of the Ural and Altai attend the meetings of the committee when they are in St. Petersburg.

The *General Chancellery of the Ministry of the Finances* is composed of two sections, the first of which has as many bureaux as there are directions, excepting the direction of the treasury, for which the second section, with three bureaux, is exclusively reserved.

There is reputed to exist, in connexion with the chancellery, a scientific committee of the ministry, composed of three members and a secretary, to discuss financial plans and institutions, and to diffuse financial instruction

among the *employés*; but that committee has never met.

The Ministry of Public Instruction is composed of one direction, a chancellery, and a council of the minister, who also appoints the principal administration of the schools. The administration of the censorship is likewise included in this department.

The Direction of Public Instruction is composed of four sections, and a chancellery, having its archives, its chest, a magazine of books, an architect, a librarian, and a physician. It has annexed to it an archæological commission, and is charged with the publication of the Ministerial Journal.

The first section comprises three bureaux. The first is charged with the affairs of the districts of St. Petersburg and Dorpat, and of the Pedagogic Institution; the second, those of the districts of Kiev and White Russia; the third, of the district of Moscow, and of the Academies of Medicine and Surgery of Moscow and Wilna.

The second section is divided into two bureaux: the first has in its attributions the affairs of the Academy of Sciences, the observatories of Poulkov and Wilna, the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg, the Rumiantzof Museum, the district of Kasan, and the schools of Siberia. The second bureau is charged with the affairs of the district of Kharkov, of that of Odessa, of the Transcaucasian schools, and of the medical department of the universities.

The third section regulates whatever concerns the district of Warsaw, and is divided into two bureaux. The fourth is that of accounts, and comprises three bureaux.

The General Assembly of the Direction of Public Instruction is composed of the director and vice-director, of the chiefs of sections and the chief of the chancellery. In case of need, the director may summon to it scientific men and artists.

The principal object of the Journal of the Ministry is to publish the ordinances which

concern this department, and to make known the state of public instruction in the different institutions. The compilation of the work is committed to an editor-in-chief and an assistant, both appointed by the minister. There are some other employés, whose number is likewise fixed by him, and the choice of whom belongs to the chief of the direction, subject to his approval.

The repair, lighting, and warming of the ministerial buildings, and the wages of servants, are defrayed out of the revenues produced by the Stschoukine-Dvor (the fruit-market), and the shops situated in the edifices belonging to the direction.

The Ministry of the Domains is composed of three directions. Between the first two are divided the domains of the empire, according to the governments in which they are situated. The third is charged to diffuse agricultural information, to effect the general survey of lands, and to inspect the surveyors. Each direction has its chancellery. The council of

the ministry is formed of the directors, including the director of the chancellery, and of at least five members. The chancellery of the ministry has two sections, besides a special division for bringing the environs of St. Petersburg into cultivation.

The Ministry of Justice is composed of one direction and one chancellery. The direction has five sections: 1. the executive section; 2. that of criminal affairs; 3. that of the civil affairs of the governments of Great Russia; 4. that of the civil affairs of the other governments; and, 5. the section of accounts.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs comprises a council, a chancellery, the direction of foreign affairs, that of internal relations, a direction of economy and of accounts, the direction of the Asiatic affairs, the archives of the State, those of St. Petersburg, and those of Moscow.

The Ministry of War has a military council composed of nine members, exclusively of the president, who is the minister himself; the general auditoriat, composed in like manner

the chancellery of the ministry; that of the Emperor, called the field chancellery, and nine directions: 1. that of the staff, which has three sections and a military topographical depôt; 2. that of the inspections, having five sections; 3. that of the artillery, composed of seven sections; 4. that of engineers, having three sections; 5. that of the commissariat of war, which includes six sections; 6. that of provisions and supplies; 7. that of the military colonies; 8. that of the service of health; 9. that of the auditoriat.

This ministry has in its department the military academy; the medico-chirurgical academy; the scientific military committee, composed of nine members and a director; the committee of military censorship, formed of six members and a president; the scientific committee of military medicine; the publication of the Invalid, &c.

The Ministry of the Marine is under the orders of the chief of the staff of the marine. It comprises a council, called the Council of

the Admiralty, a scientific committee, a chancellery of the ministry, and another of the Emperor, called the Campaign Chancellery, a general auditoriat, that of buildings, the general administration of the hospitals, the administration of the general intendance of the navy, the directions of the artillery, of the commissariat, of naval works, and of the forests of the marine.

The Ministry of the Court comprises the chapter of the orders, with its bureaux of dispatch; the direction of appanages, which has four sections and nineteen offices in the provinces, has been, ever since the appointment of its chief, M. Perovsky, to the ministry of the interior, united with that department. The ministry of the court has, moreover, in its attributions, the cabinet of his Majesty, the chancellery, which is divided into three sections, the control of the ministry, the counting-house of the Court, that of the intendance of the Crown, that of the stables, the school of monumental architecture

at Moscow, the counting-house of the hunting establishment, the direction of the theatres of St. Petersburg and Moscow, the counting-house of the palaces of Moscow, with the *chamber of arms*, the administration of the palaces of Tsarskoie-Selo, Peterhof, and Gatschina, the Academy of Arts, and the Botanical Garden.

We pass over in silence the organization of the administrations having the rank of ministry, to notice the chancellery of the Emperor, and the commission of requests, which are of higher importance.

The Chancellery of the Emperor owes its origin to Nicholas, and may serve for an exact measure of his administrative and organizing genius. It is composed of six sections, each of which has a secretary of state for its chief. The first section is charged with the correspondence with the ministries, and with the preparation of the rescripts which accompany the donations of the Emperor and grants of orders, as well as the mere expression of the imperial gratitude. These papers might some

day form a curious collection of proofs serving to establish the nullity of the men and the acts of this reign. Bulletins of this sort, as pompous as they are empty, record none but vulgar services, which, in other countries are not the object of any remuneration beyond the ordinary appointments. What particularly exercises the ingenuity of the inditers of these rescripts, is to decide whether they are to make the Emperor say to this or that person, "your benevolent," quite short, and to another, "your ever benevolent."

The second section is occupied with the *framing of the laws*, as if it was the province of the chancellery of the Emperor, and of one of its sections only, to make laws. Accordingly, the codes of Nicholas are not new-made laws, or laws borrowed from foreign countries and adapted to Russia; but a crude mass of superannuated ukases, hunted out and botched up agreeably to the commands of power.

The third section is that of the *secret police.*

The fourth is charged with the beneficent institutions founded by the Empress-mother.

The fifth is the *ministry of the domains*, which has straggled thither by accident.

The sixth and last is the Emperor's field chancellery.

The commission of the requests was instituted to do justice to the complaints and petitions addressed to his Majesty, and is composed of a president and some members appointed by the Emperor: the most important of them is the secretary of state charged to receive petitions. He has under him a particular chancellery, which enjoys the prerogatives of an imperial chancellery.

Petitions must be addressed to the secretary of state or to the Emperor, signed by the petitioner, with an indication of his condition and place of abode. They mey be written on loose paper.

The term during which complaints may be preferred against the decisions of the tribunals, is limited to a year for persons residing in the

interior of the empire, or two for those living abroad, unless such complaints are founded on new documents, or on evidence that those before furnished were false.

The commission does not pay attention to matters decided in full Senate, in the council of the empire, or in the committee of the ministers, excepting, however, the cases in which serfs claim their liberty, or which relate to the rights of nobles and minors, affairs referred to the commission by the special command of the Emperor, and lastly, such in which, independently of the sentence, the statement of facts is contested.

The denunciations which have not a close connexion with the subject of the petition are not taken into consideration by the commission, which sends them to the authority to whose province they belong, or to the secret police. Applications for decorations, and complaints against superiors, are referred to the chiefs whom they concern. Requests for audiences of the Emperor are not presented to

him, unless there is a question about important revelations. Petitions for donations and pecuniary grants, when they emanate from high functionaries, must be submitted to the Emperor. Solicitations that the Emperor will stand sponsor for infants are not delivered to his Majesty, unless when the services of the petitioners appear to the commission to give them a right to prefer such a request.

All the decisions of the commission must be submitted to the Emperor, as well as all matters which cannot be decided unanimously in its bosom.

The commission addresses the plans which it receives from individuals to the competent ministries; when these reject proposals which the commission judges of importance, it may then apply for the Emperor's authorization to refer them to the council of the empire.

Chapter VI.

OF THE PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION.

Russia is divided into fifty-three governments, forty-three of which are administered after one and the same general fashion, while the others have a particular administration, such as Siberia and the Caucasus, with their sub-divisions, Bessarabia, the countries of the Cossacks, and those of the roving tribes. As for the rights of certain provinces incorporated with the Russian empire, on the express condition of the preservation of their privileges, Nicholas swept them all away. When, on his accession to the throne, it was proposed to remould the laws of the empire into a single

body of legislation, M. Speransky was charged with this operation, and a deputy from each province enjoying particular rights was summoned to St. Petersburg, in order to concert with them the new collection of the laws.

M. Speransky, an upright and able man, himself a native of Kiev, had the intention to maintain the provincial rights, discovering in them nothing incompatible with autocracy, nothing contrary to the interests of the Russian government. Bearing in mind the differences of origin and civilization, he purposed to perpetuate in the legislation the varieties to which they had given rise. Poland, the eldest of the European nations in the work of liberty, had endowed Lithuania and White Russia, while those two countries formed part of the kingdom, with liberal institutions, such as the publicity of judicial proceedings, and those provinces had continued to enjoy them till the end of the reign of Alexander.

Subsequently, when Poland had paid with her independence for her glory and her faults

on the subject of liberty, a reaction was felt in the countries which had belonged to her. M. Khavransky, governor-general of Witebsk, a man of narrow mind and unbounded devotedness, found means to persuade M. Chadoursky, marshal of the nobility, to solicit the complete annexation of that government to Russia. The supreme power hailed this proposal with ecstacy, as if it had been the expression of the general wish of the nobility; and the same stratagem was soon repeated with the government of Mohilev. All that country was tricked out of its particular rights; the Russian laws were substituted for the Polish, and, as the former differ from the latter, even to the very dispositions that regulate inheritance, a great perturbation in all transactions was the consequence. M. Bibikof, governor-general of Kiev, used still less ceremony. Without having recourse to a marshal of the nobility, he applied direct to the Emperor, praying that the provinces committed to his administration might be admitted to the en-

joyment of the *blessings* of Russian legislation. An imperial decree fulfilled this request; and, when the governor-general was boasting one day in his own house of this measure, the Count de B., a landed proprietor of the province, told him to his face that there was nothing to brag of so mightily; "for," said he, "it is rather for the Russians to borrow the Polish legislation than for Poland to submit to theirs."

It was not long before the governments of Kharkov, Poltawa, and Tschernigov experienced the same fate. Oral proceedings at law were superseded by written ones; the *posows*, or the right belonging to the meanest subject to bring the highest functionary into court, was abolished. Speransky was grieved to the heart, and the deputies were sent back to their homes, excepting those of the Baltic provinces, who had powerful protectors at court: but their turn seems likely to come soon. M. Ouvarof, the minister of public instruction, is labouring for that purpose with

all his might, and the Emperor lends him a willing ear on this subject. The Russian element, language, and laws, are daily gaining there more and more ascendency over the German element, language, and laws; and, how worthy soever may be the attitude of the patriots of those countries, they are anything but easy about the futurity that awaits them. Finland alone has retained its rights intact, and has even a senate of its own, while the provinces of the Baltic have none but that of St. Petersburg to appeal to. It is worthy of remark, however, that the *ésprit de corps* and the distrust of the Russian judges are so great among the Germans, that very few cases are cited in which they have appealed to the Russian senate, so much do they prefer settling their differences among themselves.

In regard to the administration, Russia is divided into governments-general and simple governments. The first are those which have governors-general for chiefs, to whom the civil governors are subordinate, while, in the simple

governments, the latter are dependent on the ministry of the interior alone. The governments-general are composed sometimes of a single government, at others of several. Thus the two capitals, Moscow and St. Petersburg, and likewise Orenburg, form each a distinct government-general, while Little Russia, New Russia, White Russsia, East Siberia, West Siberia, the German provinces, Finland, compose three or four governments. The governor-general of Kharkov has in his dependence the governments of Kharkov, Tschernigov, and Poltawa; that of Kiev, in Podolia, has Kiovia, and Wolhynia; that of Witebsk has Mohilev, Smolensk, and Witebsk. Wilna, Minsk, Grodno, and Covno, form a separate province.

One would seek in vain to explain the necessity for governors-general*. The bor-

* Their uselessness has been pointed out in a remarkable work, recently published in Paris, by the title of *Système de Legislation, d'Administration, et de Politique de la Russie en* 1844, *par un homme d'Etat Russe.*

dering position of some of the provinces committed to their care produces many conflicts with foreigners, and gives rise to questions of a certain importance; but the civil governors would be quite as capable of providing for their solution. These same provinces, for the most part conquered, are liable to disturbances; but the discretionary power of the governors-general increases rather than stifles them, even when those dignitaries do not get them up themselves in order to have an occasion of gaining credit. At a certain period, there was an idea of extending this institution to all Russia; but power shrunk back before the clamour excited by this project among the national Russians; and now that two-thirds of Russia can do without governors-general, people cannot discover any reason why the rest of the empire should be placed under their authority. These posts are mere sinecures, given most frequently to generals who are utter strangers to civil administration, and who are a source of infinite

abuses and useless formalities. The civil governor, who finds himself dependent on a governor-general, sees his activity and his authority paralyzed, even if he can contrive to keep on good terms with his superior; which is almost impossible, thanks to the chief of the chancellery of the governor-general, a more influential personage than the general himself, whose factotum he is, and who finds in the recriminations against the civil governors an abundant source of illicit revenue: there is no end, therefore, to his complaints, and they keep increasing at the pleasure of the greedy *employés* of the chancellery. Public order, harmony between the chiefs, respect for authority, are thus grievously compromised, owing to the presence of the governors-general, absolute Padishahs, who, uniting the civil and the military power, are liable to endanger the empire itself, if the distance of the capital should ever suggest a desire to render themselves independent.

The Russian legislation thus defines the

duties of the civil governors. "The civil governors, being the immediate chiefs of the governments confided to them by the supreme will of his Majesty the Emperor, are the first guardians of the rights of *autocracy*, of the ukases of the directing senate, and of the orders emanating from the superior authorities. Charged to watch with a continual and vigilant care over the welfare of the inhabitants of all classes, and to enter into their position and their wants, they ought everywhere to maintain the public tranquillity, the security of each and all, the execution of the regulations, order, and decorum. It belongs to them to take measures to ensure plenty in their respective governments, to succour the indigent and the sick. They attend to the prompt administration of justice, and the immediate execution of all legal ordinances and prescriptions."

They can neither alter the laws nor deviate from their dispositions, nor punish any one without trial, and must submit to the approbation of the superior authority all extraordi-

nary measures which they may deem it conducive to the public prosperity to adopt.

They are charged to promulgate everywhere and without delay the laws, manifestoes, and orders of all kinds, immediately after the reading of them to the *goubernium*. In case of the receipt of special orders from the Emperor, they have to inform his Majesty and the competent minister of their having been carried into effect.

They have to keep in the way of order, legality, and decorum, the public authorities which are dependent on them; they cause an account to be rendered to them of the management of the funds placed at the disposal of the same authorities; and they superintend the levy of the taxes and of arrears.

In extraordinary and extremely urgent cases, the governor has a right to convoke to the *goubernium* the chambers of finance and of domains, civil and criminal, under the presidency of the attorney of the government. He must then inform the senate and

the ministry in the department of which the matter in question may happen to be, of the decision to which that general assembly has come.

He is charged to collect accurate information concerning the morality and capacity of the *employés* of his government; he takes care that absences are not too long and too frequent: he presents for rewards those who have deserved them; excludes from the service, when his competence extends so far, such as have been guilty of abuses, or brings them to trial. Young men who have just left the universities, and are commencing their career of service in the provinces, are specially commended to his *paternal* care.

The civil governor has the high superintendence over the elections of the nobility, without having a right to influence them in any manner, and without being able to take a direct part in them, even though he may be a noble of the government which he is administering. He communicates to the marshal

the list of the nobles brought to trial, and who are consequently excluded from the elections; he administers the oath to those who come forward to vote at them, installs the elected in their functions, or reports to the ministers or the senate on those whose nomination needs to be confirmed by the Emperor. He communicates to the marshal, when the case does happen, the obstacles which prevented the elected from entering upon their functions, and submits to his approval the *employés* whom he presents for the places which the nobility has not filled up, selecting them in preference from among the nobles of the government.

It is the duty of the governors to protect religion and the church, to prevent the propagation of heresies, and to contribute to their extirpation, to prosecute those who disturb religious services and ceremonies, lastly, to take care that work is suspended on holidays.

They are guardians of the rights enjoyed by each class, and are charged to prevent any

one from usurping the prerogatives which are not conferred on him by the laws. Thus they take care that corporal punishments shall not be inflicted on those who are exempt from them; that the peasants are not ill used or overloaded with labour and dues; that the books of the nobility are kept in a proper state by the deputies, and that errors are not committed in the certificates of nobility delivered by the marshals. They see to it that the convents and the churches enjoy the lands and the advantages which have been granted to them; that the ecclesiastics are exempted from taxes, and, in case of lawsuits, represented before the tribunals by deputies of their own profession. They have to maintain the rights of foreigners, to cause reports to be addressed by the local authorities to the superior authorities concerning their morality and conduct; and they administer the oath to those who wish to be naturalized, and inform the superior authority of it.

Supreme heads of the police in their go-

vernments, they direct its action in all its parts, and watch over the morality of the province committed to their care: it is their duty to put a stop to all kinds of abuses; to stifle in their birth revolts and pillage; to punish debauchery and dissipation, drunkenness and prohibited games. They have to prevent vagrancy, and to repress begging; to this end, they send beggars back to the places to which they belong, procuring for them work, which produces them wherewithal to subsist on the journey; and they place such of them as have neither masters nor relations in the college of public beneficence.

They exercise particular vigilance over persons placed by the supreme order under special surveillance, and report on their conduct to the third section of the chancellery of the Emperor, as well as to the Minister of the Interior, who informs his Majesty of it.

It is their duty to prevent the formation of secret societies, and to bring the founders to justice, acquainting the Minister of the Interior,

without delay, with the nature of these societies, and the measures adopted in regard to them.

They have to prevent the circulation of books and prints not authorized by the censorship. They cannot permit the establishment of any printing or lithographic press without the consent of the minister, nor that of any lottery for articles of a value exceeding 300 silver rubles.

They are charged to ensure the free trade in corn; to prevent forestalling, and to settle the price three or four times a year, according to the market prices. They attend to the establishment and maintenance of magazines of corn, and, for this purpose, they are presidents of the commission of supply. They attend also to the quality of provisions, to the execution of the sanitary laws, to the interment of the dead, and to the state of the hospitals.

In case of the appearance of epidemic disease, they immediately inform the Emperor of

it, through the medium of the ministry, and acquaint him with the progress of the disorder in weekly reports. In serious cases, they establish a committee of quarantine, with a military tribunal to try for offences against the sanitary precautions. They are expected to promote vaccination by all means in their power, to take care that there shall be at least one man in a thousand who knows how to vaccinate, and to this end they cause gratuitous instruction to be given.

The civil governors pay attention to the embellishment of the towns, to their paving, to the repair of the public buildings, and to the erection of churches. They are presidents of the committee of buildings, and look to it that buildings are erected in the prescribed order. They direct appropriations, and fix the compensations to be granted to proprietors; they superintend the ways and communications, cause high roads to be constructed and repaired at the expense of the Crown, and the by-roads at the charge of the communes. A

particular commission is attached to them for this purpose.

They authorize the establishment of new manufactories, as well as that of fairs and markets; they take care to inform themselves of the progress of industry in their government, and report upon it to the Minister of the Finances.

They are presidents of the committee charged to draw up statistical surveys of the state of the government in every particular. These documents are published, entire or in part, in the government newspaper, and the governor is obliged to send them to the Minister of the Interior, and to submit them by extracts to the Emperor, in case the latter should choose to pass through his province.

The governors are required to pay particular attention to the raising of recruits, and to this end they preside in the committee of recruiting. They take measures that the new soldiers shall be supplied on their route.

They superintend the administration of the guardianships under which cruel proprietors, lunatics, and spendthrifts have been placed; the interdict, valuation, and sale of encumbered properties, likewise come within their province.

They direct criminal affairs, watch the proceedings, press for judgment, and ensure the execution of sentences, without having it in their power to suspend the effects of them, unless there are sufficient proofs, but with the right to cause them to be revised by a commission.

Civil matters are submitted to them only when the Crown is interested in them: but they have to redress the complaints which reach them respecting the negligence of the tribunals.

On entering and quitting office, every civil governor must address to the Minister of the Interior, and to the governor-general, if there is one, a report on the state in which he leaves his government, and another to his successor,

or the vice-governor who supplies his place. This document must specify the number of affairs in hand in every department, the state of the supply of provisions, and that of the arrears of taxes: it exhibits also the ideas and plans for improvements desirable to be introduced into the different branches of the administration.

The new governor, on his installation, examines all the departments of the administration, and makes arrangements for remedying the evils which he may have discovered in any of them. He then makes one or more tours through his government, verifies on the spot the particulars which he has collected from the different authorities, and prescribes the ameliorations which he deems necessary.

He does justice to legitimate complaints and claims, and orders the competent authorities to put an end to abuses. He investigates the sufferings of the people, directs his attention to the state of the various branches of industry, and ascertains the means of making

them prosper. From the observations collected in this manner, he composes a memorial, which he addresses to the Emperor in person, and a copy of which is sent to the minister, and another to the governor-general, in case there is one.

The governor repeats this visitation of the province every year or every two years, according to its extent and the importance and facility of the undertaking; and he records his observations in the report which he makes annually, about the 1st of March, to the Emperor, and which is, as it were, the annual statistical *exposé* of the government. He addresses, besides, special reports to his Majesty, at different periods, that is to say, relative to the expenses occasioned by the levy of the recruits, in the six weeks subsequent to the recruiting; on the ordinary taxes, at the end of the year; and of the extraordinary taxes, after they are collected. Every fortnight, he informs the third section of the chancellery of the Emperor of all particular events. Every

four months, he acquaints the ministry with the progress made in fulfilling the orders of the Emperor and of the Senate; every six months he furnishes it with a statement of the prisoners confined for above a year, and at the end of the year, he sends a table of the business that has been transacted.

Such are the immense attributions of the governors: their mission, if duly executed, might be of great benefit to the country; but, unfortunately, these functions are most frequently conferred on incapable men, whether it be that intrigue or patronage preside at their distribution, or that in Russia there is a complete dearth of upright and enlightened men. It is a fact, that the most flagrant abuses are daily committed within the jurisdiction of the internal administration; the governors are not more incorrupt and disinterested than the other Russian functionaries, but they are quite as ignorant and negligent. It would be too long to specify the numberless proofs of their unheard-of double-dealing; and,

as one cannot denounce them all, it would not be just to call down punishment on some and to spare the others. Suffice it to say, that one borrows money, never to return it, from a man whom he has it in his power to serve; that another makes the dealers whom he tacitly authorizes to sell a drug supply him gratis; that a third receives money from a farmer of spirituous liquors, to allow him to put water into his wine; that a fourth has buildings adjudged to him at inadequate prices; that a fifth puts up to auction the properties of minors, without giving notice to the public, that he may buy them a bargain by means of his emissaries; that a sixth employs the peasants of the Crown to construct a road leading to an estate which he has recently purchased with money squeezed out of heretics for having set their leader at liberty. And these are not rare circumstances, peculiar to only a few of the governors; but the greater number of them are guilty of most of these extortions, or

others of a similar kind, without ever subjecting themselves to any consequences; for, if they should even be prosecuted, they find protectors who save them. This large and hideous sore of Russia, the peculation universally practised, is, we will boldly maintain, owing not less to the insecurity of the citizens than the immorality of the public functionaries. Where the caprice of absolute power alone decides the fate of all and each, where no one is sure of his life or his property; there, I say, every man thinks only of the present, and seeks only to enrich himself as soon as he can, that he may have as much as possible left at the moment when he may be suddenly stripped for acts most frequently independent of his will; while, by a rigorous consequence, real abuses pass unperceived. As for the incapacity and negligence of governors, this one expression sufficiently depicts them. When a governor complained that business was not progressing, some one objected that he himself ought to read the papers which he signed; to which he

replied, that he had certainly tried to do so, but then things only went on worse.

The governors are worthily seconded by the different *employés* and agents under their orders: men without instruction and without principle, there is no abuse, no malversation, which money will not bribe them to commit. To mention but one fact among a thousand: a district tribunal, paid by an accused person, dismissed the charge preferred against him, on the ground, as it alleged, that there were no means of communication between the two banks of the river which the complainant must have crossed, or his accusation could not be sustained. The latter had no difficulty to overthrow this falsehood by the very testimony of those who advanced it. Upon pretext of a commercial transaction, he applied to the tribunal before which the complaint was brought, for a certificate, that over the river in question there was a ferry, which permitted the transport of the corn and flour required, whenever the river was not frozen. For ten

assignat rubles he obtained the attestation which he solicited.

But, without anticipating, let us pause a little to consider the organization of the different provincial authorities.

Each civil governor has a chancellery, charged with the correspondence relative to the meeting of the assemblies of the nobility, the remuneration of their *employés*, the inspection of the Government by its chief, the recruiting and movement of troops, the censorship, &c.

Each government has a *goubernium* (*goubernskoie pravlénié*) under the presidency of the governor. The vice-governor of it is the first councillor. It is composed of a chancellery, a bureau of archives, a typographical department, an architect, and two surveyors. It is charged with the publication of the laws, the nomination, the promotion, and the retirement from office of the functionaries of the province. Its attributions extend also to the general movement of affairs; to the mainte-

nance of order, and to the attentions required by the public health, to the placing of estates under guardianship, to the verification of the censuses, to the superintendence of runaway peasants and deserters. It follows up the complaints of individuals against the local authorities, and is under the immediate dependence of the directing senate. The chancellery of the goubernium is composed of four sections, excepting at St. Petersburg and Moscow, where there are five.

The *Criminal Court and the Civil Court* of the government are each composed of a president, with his deputy, and a fixed number of assessors. In some places there are five councillors besides. In the two capitals, the civil courts are divided into two departments, each of which has a special president and the number of members sufficient to form a complete tribunal. In the governments of Astrakhan, Archangel, Olonetzk, Perm, and Wiatka, the two courts form but one.

The presidents are nominated by the supe-

rior authority out of a list of candidates elected by the assemblies of the nobility.

In the eastern governments, they are appointed by the minister of justice; for those of Astrakhan, Archangel, &c., the Senate, on each vacancy, proposes two candidates to the Emperor, who chooses one of them. Their substitutes are designated by the Minister of Justice in the eastern governments, and elsewhere by the Senate, on the proposal of the minister. The assessors of the courts are chosen, two by the nobility and two by the assemblies of the towns. In the governments of Wiatka, Archangel, and Olonetzk, the assessors of the nobility are appointed by the central power; in that of Astrakhan, by the local authority, and confirmed by the Senate.

The *Tribunal of Conscience* is composed of a presiding judge and six assessors. The judge is elected by the nobility, the body of traders, and that of the peasants. In the governments of Archangel, Wiatka, and Perm, the judge and the two assessors are appointed

by the Government; the first performs the functions of marshal of the nobility. Differences between parents and children are in the exclusive competence of the tribunal of conscience. Its decisions cannot be executed until confirmed by the civil governor. In case of disagreement between the tribunal and the governor, the affair is referred to the Senate. In Little Russia, the Tribunal of Conscience is represented by a court called Tribunal of the Three (*trétéiskji soud*), which the two parties voluntarily choose, and from whose sentence there is no appeal.

The local police is committed to the District Tribunal, composed of a president, called ispravnik, and some assessors. This tribunal has a chancellery, divided into two bureaux. The districts are divided into sections (*stan*), which have their special chiefs, called *stanavoï pristáv*, under whose orders are the *sotski* and the *dessiatski*. The ispravnik and the dean of the assessors are chosen by the nobility, the stanavoï by the Crown, and the

assessors by the peasants of the Crown and the free farmers, from among the nobles of the government.

Let us proceed to the particular administration of certain provinces.

Siberia is divided into two parts, East and West Siberia, each of which has its distinct administration. That of the West resides at Omsk, and extends to the governments of Tobolsk and Tomsk, and to the Kirgises; that of the East resides at Irkutsk, and comprises the governments of Irkutsk and Jeniseisk, the province of Jakutsk, the circle of Okhotsk, of Kamtschatka, and of Troïtzko-Savsk.

The superior administration of each of the two parts is composed of a governor-general and his council, formed of six councillors, three of whom are presented by the governor-general, and the other three by the Ministers of the Interior, the Finances, and Justice, to the nomination of the Emperor.

In case of absence or illness, the place of the governor-general is supplied in the council

by one of the civil governors, whom he nominates for this purpose. Each government is administered by a civil governor and a council, composed under his presidency of presidents of the goubernium, of the chamber of finance, of the tribunal, and the attorney of the government. Each district has a special chief, and a council, formed of the heads of the different branches of the local administration, the mayor, the judges, the ispravnik, the treasurer, and the substitute of the attorney.

The indigenous inhabitants of Siberia have a different administration, according to their mode of life and occupations. The roving tribes are governed by a *stepnaïa douma,* or chamber of the steppes, composed of *taïscha, saïssani, schoulengui,* &c., to which belongs the high administration of several united tribes. The separate tribes have strostas, with their assistants, whom they call in their language *darougua* or *taïscha.* All these chiefs are elected by the native inhabitants themselves.

The civil government of Tomsk is designated

by the Minister of the Finances, because it has also the superintendence of the mines of Altai, which are in the province of that ministry.

The Kirgises are governed by a major-general and by an administration, under the presidency of a colonel or lieutenant-colonel, and composed of four councillors, one of whom is a Kirgise, an assessor, the substitute of the attorney, and a chancellery. These authorities reside at Omsk.

The province of Jakutsk has a chief and an administration composed of three councillors and a substitute of attorney, under the presidency of the head of the province.

The administration of Okhotsk is committed to an *employé* of the navy, assisted by a council, composed of the oldest officer of the naval service after the chief, the district judge, and the ispravnik. It is dependent on the governor-general of Irkutsk, as well as Kamtschatka, which has also a district chief.

The superintendence of the cordon on the

Chinese frontier of Troïtzko-Savsk is allotted to a chief (major) assisted by a councillor and six assessors. The chief is appointed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The Caucasus is divided into the Caucasian province and the Trans-caucasian country, both of which are under the commander-in-chief of the Caucasus. The chief town of the Caucasian province is Stavropol, and it is administered by a superior military *employé*, whose duties correspond with those of a military governor, and by a council composed of the civil governor, president of the goubernium, the marshal of the nobility, the presidents of the tribunals, the president of the chamber of finances and court of domains, and the attorney of the province.

The districts are governed by a military chief and a council, composed of the major of the place, the marshal of the district, the mayor, the ispravnik, &c.

The Trans-caucasian country is composed of the government of Georgia-Imeritia and of

the Caspian province. The commander of the army of the Caucasus is also the head of the administration. He is assisted by a council, in which the military governor of Tiflis has a seat, as have also members nominated by the Emperor, and the functionaries who may be summoned to it when it is engaged with matters which concern them. If the president cannot agree in opinion with the majority of the council, he refers the subject to the Senate or the competent ministers: he may also carry into immediate execution the opinion of the minority, or even of a single member, by taking the whole responsibility on himself, and acquainting, without delay, the minister whom the point in dispute concerns, with the reasons which have induced him to take that resolution. Since the appointment of a lieutenant of the Caucasus, the power of the chief of this army, who unites the two titles, has been increased beyond measure.

A civil governor is at the head of the government of Georgia-Imeritia. The Caspian

province has a particular chief. The districts have each a special administrator and a substitute. They are divided into sections, which are under the management of assessors.

The Don Cossacks are administered by an ataman, who, like the governors-general, unites in his person the civil and military authority. He presides over the military government, which is composed of the chief of the staff, the dean of the members, and four assessors, and divided into four bureaux and a section of accounts and control. The military government has a right to refer to the Senate the orders which it receives from the ataman, and to which it refuses its approbation, without having the power to stay their execution. The chief of the staff supplies the place of the ataman, in case of illness, absence, or interim.

There is a civil tribunal and a criminal tribunal, each composed of an elder, two adjuncts, and three Cossack assessors, elected by the military chiefs every three years; the attorney and two substitutes are independent

of the army, and appointed by the senate on the presentation of the Minister of Justice. The comptroller is also nominated by the Senate, on the presentation of the comptroller of the empire.

The country of the Don Cossacks has seven districts and as many special administrations, besides that of the Calmucks. The tribunals of the circles are each composed of a judge, a military officer, two assessors, civil officers, (at Tscherkask there are three) and two Cossacks; it has a chancellery. That of the *stanitzas* is composed of an ataman and two judges elected by the inhabitants every three years.

The Cossacks of Asov are under the rule of the governor-general of New Russia. They have at their head an ataman, and are governed, in administrative affairs, by a military chancellery.

The Cossacks of the Black Sea are under the authority of the commander-in-chief of the army of the Caucasus. Their ataman has the attributions of a general of division for mili-

tary affairs, and those of a governor for civil matters.

The Cossacks of Orenburg are dependent on the commander of the army of Orenburg, those of Astrakhan on the military government of that city. Their ataman is elected by them and confirmed by the Emperor.

The Cossacks of the Ural are likewise dependent on the governor-general of Orenburg.

The Cossacks of Siberia are divided into town Cossacks and those of the line. The first are charged with the police of the towns, and are under the orders of the civil authorities. The Cossacks of the line are at the disposal of the military chancellery of Siberia, which has its seat at Omsk, and at that of the officer commanding the army of Siberia.

CHAPTER VII.

PENAL LEGISLATION.

THE penal code of Russia gives the following definition of crimes and misdemeanors: "Every action forbidden by the law under *fear* of heavy punishment is a *crime;* and every act forbidden under *fear* of slight corporal chastisement, or police correction, is a misdemeanor." This is pronouncing openly in favour of the system of intimidation, which, as Hegel said in one of his lectures on the philosophy of law in Berlin, is *a stick held up to a dog.*

Every theft and swindling act to an amount not exceeding twenty assignation rubles, drun-

kenness, and blows given in a quarrel, when not of consequence, are reckoned misdemeanors.

Those are accounted accomplices in a crime who have co-operated in it, or facilitated it by their acts, their words, or their writings. Moral complicity is thus established and at the same time left to the decision of the judges. Those who have provoked the crime are punished more severely than those who have participated in its accomplishment, excepting the cases in which the law has decreed equality of punishment for certain crimes.

The punishment of death was abolished by the decrees of 1753 and 1754 in all cases but for political crimes which have been carried before the *supreme penal tribunal.* This is contrary to the course pursued in the civilized world. There the penalty of death is reserved for murder and abolished for political crimes. In Russia, to love one's country and to attempt to promote its welfare in any other way than what the Government approves is a

greater crime than to kill one's fellow-creature. By whom is it decided what crimes shall be carried before the supreme tribunal? By the supreme authority alone: and what is that extraordinary tribunal? It is composed, for each particular case, of members chosen by the Emperor alone, out of the council of the empire, the senate, or the other dignitaries of the Court and State. Thus it is one of the parties who is at the same time judge, and this judge cannot but be partial.

No fixed law determines the mode of execution for those condemned to capital punishment. It is left to the pleasure of the judges, for each particular case. The supreme tribunal can, if it pleases, order a man to be buried alive, quartered, or hanged. This, most assuredly is allowing too much latitude to discretionary power. Thus, on the 15th of September, 1765, the sub-lieutenant Mirovitsch was beheaded; on the 10th of November, 1771, two of the ringleaders in the insurrection which broke out at Moscow, on

occasion of the plague, were hanged. On the 10th of January, 1755, Pugatschef and Perfilief were quartered, and their accomplices hanged or beheaded. On the 13th of July, 1826, five of the conspirators of the 14th of December were hanged.

It is not even necessary that a criminal should receive sentence of death before he can be put to death. The executioner can kill a man with a single stroke of the knout or *pleite*. A culprit may be suffered to perish under the gauntlet; the surgeon who attends the sufferer need only be told to shut his eyes, and he is thus dispensed from all responsibility. Again, the executioner may, either by wilful or involuntary awkwardness, break the sword of a noble, in pursuance of the sentence of condemnation, upon his head instead of breaking it above his head, and bear rather too hard, without having precisely received any express instruction on the subject. Such a circumstance occurred in 1836. M. Pavlof stabbed M. Aprelef on leaving the

church where the latter had just been married to Mademoiselle K., after having promised to marry the sister of M. Pavlof, whom he had seduced. By command of the Emperor, the latter was tried within twenty-four hours, and sentenced to degradation: the executioner fractured his skull in breaking his sword.

Every man who, in whatever manner it may be, has the knowledge of a political plot, is bound to give information of it, upon pain of being reckoned an accomplice and treated as such. The ukase of the 25th of January, 1715, says: "Whoever is a true Christian and a faithful servant of his Sovereign, may, without doubt, denounce verbally or in writing *necessary and important affairs*, and especially the following: 1. Every wicked plot against the person of his Majesty, and treason; 2. Rebellion or insurrection." Hence the crimes called crimes of *the two points.* In 1730, slander against his Majesty and the Imperial House was added to the first.

Relationship exempts in no degree from

this obligation. Serfs receive their liberty for denouncing their masters, if they conspire against the Sovereign. Any other denunciation on their part against their lord cannot be received. Children are in the same predicament in regard to their fathers. Neither has religion found any more favour from this law, which pays no respect to the sacredness of confession, but enjoins every priest to denounce any man who acknowledges himself guilty of conspiracy.

The punishment of death is applied indiscriminately to rebellion in arms or with violence; to treason, a crime which consists in having lent assistance or co-operation to the enemy, or kept up an understanding with him; to the surrender by an officer of forts or ships entrusted to him, unless in case of absolute necessity; and lastly, to those who, by outcries, have diffused a panic terror in the ranks of the army.

Sentence of death may also be pronounced by the military tribunals before which citizens

may be brought for infraction of the quarantines.

Offensive words against the members of the Imperial family, either written or uttered *vivâ voce,* constitute the crime of lese-majesty, which is punished with death whenever it is carried before the supreme tribunal; but, before the ordinary tribunals, it incurs only those punishments which are substituted for the penalty of death, such as the knout and compulsory labour. The same is the case in regard to all crimes against the *two points.*

Political death entails the privation of all the rights of citizenship. He who is condemned to it, is laid down on the scaffold, or placed under the gallows, and then sent off to compulsory labour. The decrees of 1753 and 1754 have limited these symbols of capital punishment to the purely political crimes carried before the supreme tribunal.

The *confiscation of property,* for the benefit of the Crown, was abolished by Article 23 of the Charter granted to the nobility on the

21st of April, 1785; it was thenceforth to take place only for the benefit of the heirs of the condemned. On the 6th of May, 1802, this arrangement was extended to the other classes of the people. The property of criminals condemned to death and executed passes to their heirs as if they had died a natural death. It is the same in cases of civil death.

The decrees of 1809, 1810, and 1820, have re-established the confiscation of immoveable property for the benefit of the Crown against the nobles of border provinces, who, during an insurrection, retire without permission to a foreign country.

The law of the 2nd of April, 1722, says that Russian seamen, who, without the permission of the Government, enter foreign service, and engage to reside abroad, shall be considered as deserters; and it adds that those who, after entering into the service of a foreign country, with the consent of the Government, do not return on the first sum-

mons sent to them, shall be treated without mercy. Lastly, the law of 1762 purports, that all Russians, not returning to Russia, when publication is made that the good of the State requires it, shall have their property sequestrated. Nicholas, by his ukase of the 15th of September, 1836, has decreed that, "in case the Government shall deem it necessary to put the laws before cited in execution, a regular order of recall shall be addressed to the individual in question, and *whether he returns or does not return, judgment shall be pronounced upon him, and the matter shall be followed up according to the laws.*"—Draco was clearer in his sanguinary decrees.

The ukase of the 17th of April, 1834, decrees the sequestration of the property of those who remain abroad beyond the terms allowed by the laws.

All this complication in the laws is but the consequence of the blindest arbitrary caprice. Thus, while the murderers of Peter III. and Paul I., the Orlofs, the Pahlens, the Bennig-

sens, the Ouvarofs, the Zubofs, have found nothing but honours as the reward of their murders, the conspirators of 1825, who were unsuccessful in their attempt, atoned for it on the gallows. Thus too the Russian government has always treated emigrant foreigners with extraordinary hospitality, nay even loaded with favours such as have deserted the ranks of their army; while it dares to brand as high treason the mere emigration of Russian subjects, and proceeds with the utmost rigour against those whose interests oblige them to settle abroad, while the Russian legislation naturalizes with the greatest facility all those who wish to fix their abode in Russia. The law says, in fact, that every foreigner, if he is not a Jew or a Dervise, may immediately make himself a Russian subject, by taking the required oath of fidelity. Nine months after his declaration, he must be admitted to the rights of citizenship; and, even after he is naturalized, he may renounce his title of Russian, on the payment of three years' taxes.

The deprivation of nobility entails the sequestration of property till the pardon of the condemned, which enables them to recover their property, or till their death, after which their fortune is restored to their family. This law does not extend to property, moveable and immoveable, for the possession of which it is not necessary to have a title of nobility; this remains at the disposal of the condemned, who may even acquire more in these conditions.

The marriage of the man who is deprived of his civil rights is dissolved, and his wife is at liberty to contract a new one. If the criminal obtains his pardon before his wife has formed another alliance, the husband recovers his rights. The children born before the condemnation of the father continue in the class to which he belonged, and those that are born afterwards follow his new condition. This circumstance occurred, among others, with the sons of General Rosen, condemned to Siberia for the insurrection of 1825; his eldest son remained a baron, and those borne him in

Siberia were colonists there; then, when the father went as a common soldier to the Caucasus, they, by the particular favour of the Emperor, were made cantonists, or soldier-boys.

The wife and children of a convict retain their rights of property, even if they accompany him into exile; but, in this case, they cannot return to Russia till his re-instatement or his death: thus affection is punished equally with crime.

The knout is the punishment that comes immediately after the penalty of death, and which is reckoned to have superseded it. It is inflicted for the political crimes of the *two points*, which it was not thought fit to send to the supreme tribunal, and which, in that case, would have incurred capital punishment; for sacrilege, violation of tombs, stealing articles belonging to a church in the church itself; for injurious words against the Trinity and the sacred books; and for non-revelation of such expressions. Jews, Mahometans, and Pagans

who convert a Christian to their faith by force or fraud, are punished with the lash. The same punishment is applied to murder with premeditation, to the abduction and sale of a free man for a serf, to child-stealing, to the forgery of decrees of the Emperor or of the Senate, or to the use that may have been made of such papers by heirs acquainted with their illicit origin, to the fabrication of false national or foreign coins, to the forgery of Russian assignats and papers of credit, to the introduction of false Russian assignats fabricated abroad, to the melting down of Russian coins, excepting that of platina. The knout is the punishment adjudged for rape perpetrated on a young girl, a married woman, a widow, or a man; it is likewise inflicted on the serfs of the violated person who did not oppose the accomplishment of the crime, or defend their mistress. The law inflicts it also on pirates, negro slave traders, on those who secrete malefactors, on incendiaries, and on the non-revealers of all these crimes.

The murder of a relation or of a chief is not punished more severely than ordinary murders, (law of January 1, 1835). The murderer who delivers himself up to justice obtains the commutation of the knout for the *pleite*, or cat-of-nine-tails.

The number of lashes of the knout is fixed by the judges specially for each culprit. They are, however, prohibited from adding to their sentences the terms formerly usual, "to flog without mercy or with cruelty." Since the decree of the 25th December, 1817, the practice of tearing out the nostrils of criminals has ceased; but those who have undergone the punishment of the knout, robbers, and murderers, without distinction, are branded on the forehead and cheeks with the Russian letters, B. O. P., (V. O. R.,) which signify thief.

Next to the judge, the executioner has it in his power to aggravate or to lighten the punishment; indeed his power in this respect exceeds that of the magistrate, for it depends upon him, if not to kill the sufferer, at least to

put him to infinite torture, as he can also, if he pleases, do him but little harm; and this is usually the case when he finds in the mouth of the culprit a piece of money which makes it worth his while to be merciful. Charitable persons never fail to fill the hands of a man led forth to punishment, and he takes good care to slip the most valuable piece into his mouth.

The punishment of the knout always entails that of compulsory labour, which the culprit undergoes in Siberia, in the mines, or in the manufactories. The Tartars of the governments of Kasan, Simbirsk, and Orenburg, are sent in such cases to the fortresses of Finland.

The whip or knout is made of leather, platted in a triangular form, which, as it is well known, produces the most dangerous wounds.

The *pleite*, or cat-of-nine-tails, is composed of very thick leather thongs, loose and of immoderate length; it cuts out with ease a piece of flesh at every stroke. The punish-

ment is inflicted publicly or merely at the police. In the first case it is called *execution*, in the second *correction*. When administered publicly, it is followed by exile to Siberia, where the culprit is treated as a colonist.

This punishment is incurred by striking some one in a public place, by tearing or destroying the decrees of the Government*, by opposing the action of the legal authorities†, or the public execution of a condemned criminal‡.

Whoever deprives a man of a member, is punished with the *pleite;* and so is he who mutilates himself to escape the recruiting. The number of stripes is fixed for this case from twenty-five to fifty; and if the person recovers from his wounds, he is made a soldier.

For stealing articles of the estimated value of more than thirty silver rubles, culprits are

* Aggravated cases incur the knout.

† If the offender is armed, he receives the knout.

‡ Breaking open the prisons and setting the prisoners at liberty is punished with the knout.

punished with the *pleite* at the police, made soldiers, or exiled to Siberia. For thefts to the value of from six to thirty rubles, the culprits receive the *pleite*, but are not exiled. Under six rubles, theft is punished with confinement in a house of correction.

Perjury and false testimony are punished with the *pleite*.

All these punishments, equally barbarous and ridiculous, neither intimidate malefactors nor correct even those who have suffered them. The lash leaves no mark, say the criminals themselves; whereas the tearing out of the nostrils left upon the condemned an everlasting mark of infamy, which they strove to efface by their good conduct; and hence they were reputed to be the most honest men in the mines as well as in the colonies. Far be it from us, however, to desire the re-establishment of this barbarous mutilation; we should rejoice, on the contrary, in the abolition of the knout and the *pleite*, and wish, if not for the re-establishment of the punishment of

death, at least for the organization of a better combined penitentiary system for the amelioration of criminals. It is long since people recovered from the horror that was once excited by labour in the mines. The mere exile to Siberia does not frighten persons without profession and without property. The colonists there have lands in abundance granted to them, and the country is not everywhere uninhabitable. The ill usage attending and following the despatch of the convicts excites horror only in men who are more or less highly educated. But it is time to say a few words concerning Siberia, that country of exile and of punishment.

Persons condemned to transportation travel thither on foot, carts not being allowed excepting for the sick: murderers and great criminals are chained. Every attempt at flight is punished with corporal chastisement, even in nobles. Instead of numbers, proper names are given to the exiles, but different from those which they bore before their condemnation. If they were to change them among them-

selves, they would be punished with five years' compulsory labour, over and above their sentence.

At Kasan, the exiles coming from most of the governments are collected. That city has, in fact, a bureau of dispatch for exiles, which is authorized to retain, for the salt-works of Iletz, an indeterminate number of convicts condemned to compulsory labour or merely to exile: at Perm, the authorities may keep a number for the fabrication of wine, and even for the college of public beneficence.

At Tobolsk sits the committee of the exiles, composed of a chief, his assessors, and a chancellery having two sections. It depends on the civil governor of Tobolsk, and has bureaux of dispatch in several towns.

On their arrival in Siberia, the criminals are set about different kinds of labour, according to their faculties. Some are employed in the mines, either because they have been specially condemned to them, or, having undergone the punishment of the *pleite*, they are deemed fit

for that sort of labour, or simply because there is a want of labourers there: but, in this case, they are not confined to the mines for more than a year, which counts for two years of exile, and with double pay. If they commit any new crime, they remain there two years longer, even though the tribunal has not sentenced them to compulsory labour.

Those who have learned a trade are set to work at it; others become colonists, and others again domestic servants. Those destined for the latter station are divided among the inhabitants who apply for them. These are obliged to feed them and to pay them wages, at the rate of at least a silver ruble and a half per month in advance. The term of this punishment is eight years, at the expiration of which these compulsory valets can turn peasants, serfs of the Crown.

The usual duration of compulsory labour is twenty years, after which the condemned may establish themselves freely in the mines where they worked, or in other occupations. Those

employed in the cloth manufactories remain there but ten years. Labour in the fortifications is considered as the most severe.

Cripples and incurables form a particular class.

The colonists are not exempt from taxes for more than three years: for the other seven, they pay half of the personal contribution. At the expiration of their punishment, they pay the whole of the tax. After an abode of twenty years in Siberia, they become subject to the recruiting.

The serfs sent to Siberia on the application of their masters, are forwarded at the expense of the latter, and distributed in the villages as agricultural labourers.

The exiles are at liberty to marry in Siberia either free persons or condemned culprits. The free woman who marries an exile for her first husband, receives a donation of fifty silver rubles, and the free man who takes to wife an exiled woman receives fifteen.

Persons condemned for political offences remain in Siberia under the special surveillance of the third section of the chancellery of the Emperor.

Running the gauntlet is a military punishment not applicable to other individuals, unless they become amenable to the military tribunals, as for the infraction of the quarantines, or for the rebellion of serfs against their masters. A whole battalion, armed with switches, is drawn up in line: the culprit, with his hands tied before to the but-end of a musket, is led along the line preceded by a drum to drown his cries, till he has received the number of stripes specified in the sentence, which, indeed, scarcely ever happens; for few men can bear more than four or five hundred, and a greater number is most frequently allotted to a criminal. When the sufferer becomes unable to walk, he is carried upon a hand-barrow, if his life is not yet in danger. Most commonly he is carried, to all appearance dying, to the hospital, where he remains

till his recovery, after which the punishment is repeated, and so on till he has received the full number of lashes fixed by the sentence. The Russian penal law gives to this punishment the German appellation of *Spitzruthen*, in memory of its Austrian origin, but it is usually designated "driving along the ranks."

A man is made a soldier for ever or for a time. In the latter case even, it is forbidden by law, to fix a term for his punishment, its operation depending upon the conduct of the culprit, the disposition of his chiefs, and the favour which he enjoys. He is thus deprived of his last consolation, the prospect of expiating his crimes, and at the same time that first rule of law, the proportioning of punishments to offences, is overthrown. That the good conduct of the culprit should be capable of abridging his punishment, and his misconduct of lengthening it, is perfectly natural; but, at least, let the judge who pronounces it fix its duration! As for the punishment itself, we will not say a word about that: its absurdity

is glaring; but it is consistent with the whole spirit of Russian penal legislation, which sometimes deprives criminals of nobility, as if all the other classes of the people ought to deem themselves too happy to receive a criminal into their bosom; sometimes for the slightest offence transfers soldiers of the guard into regiments of the line, as if the latter had not honourable men in their ranks. In imposing military service as a disgrace, the law does not stop to consider that it is striking at the honour of the colours; and, in substituting flogging for the punishment of death, it does nothing but crown its work of barbarity.

The civil *employés* are made soldiers for crimes committed in the service, such as peculation, insubordination, and abuse of power. Heretics who strive to make proselytes, or mutilate themselves, incur the same punishment; but they can deliver themselves from it by embracing the Greek religion. Every man exempt from corporal punishment, and condemned to exile in Siberia, may be made a

soldier, if he is not more than thirty-five years old. On the other hand, every man unfit for military service, and who has been condemned for a crime, is exiled to Siberia.

The Imperial will, in short, is the supreme arbiter of this punishment. It frequently happens that the Emperor Nicholas, when visiting the prisons, meets with men confined there who please him by their height, and whom he immediately points out to be made soldiers, without inquiring the cause of their imprisonment, without knowing whether it is for murder, or merely for prevention, or perhaps for an offence of little importance. The law leaves to the Government the faculty of making soldiers of the peasants condemned to exile by their communes or their masters.

In the prisons, the women must be separated from the men; the nobles, the *employés*, the citizens, and foreigners, from the prisoners of low class. Accused must not be mixed with condemned persons, nor even those who are merely objects of suspicion with those

whose guilt is more probable. Important criminals are separated from those who are less so. Children, persons confined for debt, and, lastly, the co-accused, must be shut up apart. Ecclesiastics liable to imprisonment are sent to the consistory.

Prisoners are, as a general rule, supported at the expense of the State; nobles and *employés* are not, unless they are destitute of the means of existence. In this case, they are allowed seven silver copecks per day, and even twenty in Georgia. Children under the age of ten years receive half the ordinary pay; and prisoners for debt double, at the expense of their creditors, who must pay in advance for any term they please; but, if they omit to do so, the prisoners are liberated on the very next day.

To prevent the escape of prisoners, as well as to punish any attempt of that kind, the gaoler is allowed to put irons on their arms and legs. Women must never have them but on their arms. These chains must not exceed

the weight of five pounds and a half, and they must be lined with leather at the part which encompasses the ancles. Persons exempt from corporal punishments and minors are likewise dispensed from chains. It is prescribed that, to prevent escapes, the prisoners shall every month have half the head shaved, excepting prisoners for debt, females, persons exempt from corporal punishments, and those who are merely under arrest for a certain time.

Vagabonds and men without profession, persons condemned to exile without the addition of any disgraceful punishment, when they have not been exempted from it by their condition, and individuals sentenced to labour in a fortress, or to confinement in houses of correction, are dispatched in *labour companies* as well as those who have been specially sent for misconduct, on the part of their commune or their masters.

There are twenty-seven of these companies in twenty-seven government towns. The prisoners who are incorporated with them are

subject to discipline, and wear military uniforms of two kinds, either for vagabonds or criminals. They are employed on the public works, or, for want of occupation of that kind, in work that is bespoken, at the rate of six silver copecks per day.

Duelling in Russia is punished as murder, if death ensues from it; as a mutilation, if wounds only are the consequence. Whoever has gone to the ground and prepared his weapon is deprived of his civic rights, and exiled to Siberia. Seconds are punished as accomplices of the crimes which have been the result of a duel.

Attempts at suicide are punished in the same manner as attempts at murder.

Blows on the head, face, or any other dangerous part, constitute a grievous offence, amenable to the criminal tribunals. Offences by words or by writing are called simple. The punishments for grievous offences are, begging pardon, fine, damages, imprisonment, removal from the service, or corporal punish-

ment, according to the class to which the offender belongs; simple offences are visited with damages only.

Any offence against a citizen is punished with a fine equal to the amount of his annual tax. Blows are rated double, as well as offences committed against the wives of citizens; and in case these pay any tax themselves, the fine is increased by so much. Daughters receive in the like case a compensation four times the amount of that which would be awarded to their parents; for sons of tender age, the compensation is reduced to half.

Grievous offences committed against the clergy are punished with double the fine fixed for the citizens. For offences against nobles, the damages are regulated according to the salary which they receive in the service, or which they would receive in it according to their rank.

Prosecutions for simple offences are limited to a year; for grievous offences to two years.

Every slanderer must retract his words, and is liable, besides, to two years' imprisonment. The author of a libel is punished as if he had committed the crime with which he has reproached his adversary, and his publication is burned in the public place.

Offenders, instead of being sent to Siberia and the colonies, may be merely restricted to a specified residence; as there is likewise exile in the provinces of the interior, or that of a lord to his estates. The law says very innocently that banishments of this kind only take place after trial, or rather according to a disposition of the Government. It is the same with the dispatch of foreigners to the frontiers, which depends solely upon the secret police.

The nobles, as well hereditary as personal, the traders of the first two guilds, and such of the third as have filled posts in the municipal administration equivalent to any class whatever in the public service, the clergy, both secular and regular, with their wives

and children, are exempt from corporal punishments, for which is substituted military degradation, whenever the culprit has not been condemned to exile or to compulsory labour. All those persons as well as their wives, are exempted from ignominious marks.

In case of the illness of a convict, the infliction of corporal punishment is deferred till his recovery; and if his health does not admit of his undergoing it at all, he may be dispensed from it with the assent of the authorities. Pregnant women do not suffer punishment till forty days after their delivery, and women with children at the breast enjoy a reprieve of a year and a half.

Children under the age of ten years are not liable to any punishment, and the crimes which they may commit cannot affect their future condition. Children from ten to fourteen years old cannot be condemned either to compulsory labour or to the knout, or to flogging publicly inflicted. From fourteen to seventeen, they are liable to compulsory

labour, but not to undergo ignominious corporal punishments. From eleven to fifteen, they incur, for offences of little consequence, the rod, and from fifteen to seventeen the *plaite* at the police.

Aged men of seventy years and upwards are exempt from corporal punishments and ignominious marks. Lunatics and persons who have committed offences in a state of somnambulism are not punishable; they are merely shut up in madhouses, the former for two years, the latter for six weeks, after their cure.

Every murderer without premeditation is punished with confinement in a convent.

The right of legitimate defence extends to him who sees the life of another in danger, or who defends a woman threatened with violence. Crimes committed upon compulsion are not punishable in the person of him who has been only the instrument of them.

Offenders cannot be prosecuted for crimes after the expiration of ten years from the time

of their perpetration, excepting in cases of religious apostacy and military desertion.

Whoever denounces forgers and smugglers is, from that very circumstance, screened from the prosecution which he would have incurred as their accomplice; but the criminal whose guilt is averred obtains no alleviation of his punishment.

Drunkenness is an aggravating circumstance in every sort of crime committed with premeditation, and is never an extenuating consideration.

Anonymous denunciations remain without effect, but no oath is required of the informer. Children are not permitted to denounce their fathers for private crimes. In 1822, the council of the empire exempted wives from the obligation to denounce their husbands for theft. Magistrates who instigate false accusations with bad intentions are punished with the penalties decreed for the crimes with which they have charged innocent persons.

The declarations of the accused before the

tribunal, if conformable to the facts established, are considered as the best evidence of his guilt. But these confessions are not indispensable for conviction and condemnation.

Children under the age of fifteen years, lunatics, persons deaf and dumb, men deprived of civil rights and of honour, those who have never received the sacrament, foreigners whose conduct is unknown, the relations, the friends, and the declared enemies of accused persons, are not admitted as witnesses. Parents, however, can depose against their children.

Any judge interested in the cause may be rejected and obliged to refrain from acting, at the request of the parties.

Criminal proceedings are gratuitous, and are drawn upon loose paper; but the travelling expenses of the magistrates who conduct them, and of the witnesses, must be paid by the accused.

When the facts of a case are of such a nature as to entail severe punishment, the cause, after it has been tried by the tribunal

of first instance, (*zemskii soud,*) must be submitted to the revision of the criminal court established in the chief town of the government, in all cases, whether condemnation or acquittal has been pronounced. Sentences which award merely correctional punishments are not referred to the superior tribunals, unless by appeal of the condemned.

The decision of the criminal court must be submitted to the civil governor of the province; if it is sanctioned by him, it is carried into execution immediately; in the contrary case it is submitted to the revision of the Senate.

The Senate cannot interfere in any affair when the sentence has been confirmed by the governor, unless there has been some violation of the laws or regulations of the proceedings, or by virtue of a special order of the Emperor; and, in this case, it can do no more than lighten the punishment.

Sentences which condemn nobles to deprivation of their rights must always be revised by the Senate. Trials of noble persons for mur-

der must also be submitted to it, even when the criminal court has acquitted the accused. Capital accusations, in which *honorary citizens* and *employés* who have not yet attained the fourteenth class are implicated, must likewise be referred to it.

As for the condemned commoner, he can carry to the Senate his complaint against the criminal court; but the sentence of the latter is put into execution as soon as it is passed. From that day, the convict belongs to the authority of the exiled at Tobolsk.

The Senate takes cognizance of every affair in which nobles are implicated with serfs, and of all those in which nine persons at once have been condemned to corporal punishment.

The titles of nobility, orders, and kaftans of honour, cannot be taken from any man, unless the sentence has been confirmed by the Emperor.

If the titles of accused nobles are contestable, but yet there are no proofs of their nullity, the application of corporal punishments is remitted.

The following anecdote will serve to show, better than any reasoning, the absurdity of the system of criminal procedure pursued in Russia. The circumstance occurred in the government of Twer.

A peasant quarrelled with another about a matter of interest. He suffered him to depart quietly for his own home, then, summoning his man to his assistance, he ran across the fields overtook, and killed him on the high road. It was dark. A woman passing that way recognized one of the murderers at the moment when they began to run away, but without having seen them commit the crime. The two culprits were apprehended, and, besides them, three young men who were absent that day from the village.

Agreeably to the practice usual in such cases, the accused were required to lay hold of the corpse by the feet, that their countenances might be watched at that moment. The faces of the three young men betrayed no emotion, while the actual murderer turned pale and

trembled at the slightest contact with the body of the victim. But he was rich; he made considerable presents to the judges and the clerks, and, contrary to custom and the law, he had been confined in the same cell with his accomplice. One day he told him that it was ridiculous for them both to throw themselves away, and that, if he would take the guilt upon himself alone, he would give him 100 rubles. To this his man consented. Meanwhile M. B***, the civil governor, came to inspect the prison, and entering the cell of the murderers in question, he upbraided them severely for not confessing their crime. The master replied that he was innocent, and that his man alone had committed the murder for which they were imprisoned. The latter, on being questioned in his turn, confessed that he was the only criminal. The *employés* who accompanied the governor, quite prepossessed in favour of the generous peasant, laid hold of this confession, and asked their chief if they should draw up a minute of it. The governor

assented, and, when he was gone, the man claimed the reward of his devotedness; but the master told him that, since he had been stupid enough to confess before receiving the money, he should not have it. The man lost no time in denouncing the whole affair to the tribunal, and to retract his confession; but he was condemned for *contradictory depositions*, knouted, and sent to Siberia, while the principal author of the crime still enjoys his liberty.

The law forbids a corpse to be touched till the cause of death has been ascertained. A female peasant thrust her head into the stove of a Russian bath, and there lay apparently lifeless. Her husband came in, drew her out by the legs, and, seeing that she was dead, went to seek the officers of justice, who began with dragging the man off to prison, saying that it was forbidden to move a corpse before the arrival of the magistrates.

An ispravnik, charged to cause a peasant convicted of an offence to be flogged, seized

another person of the same name, who suffered himself to be beaten, without correcting the mistake till he had received the stripes. The grave magistrate, without suffering such a trifle to perplex him, sent in quest of the real culprit, and ordered a repetition of the punishment.

It is, for the most part, men utterly ignosant, peasants who have no notion whatever of law, who prepare the first proceedings in criminal affairs. The *procès-verbal* must be signed by the accused; and when he can neither read nor write, which is very often the case, he is required to make three crosses, which he generally does without knowing the contents; for no time is left him for reflection, and he is enjoined to sign somehow or other. As all these crosses are like one another, substitutions are rendered easy; and, owing to these ridiculous signatures, innocent persons have been seen wandering to Siberia instead of the guilty. Luckily, by the way, the governors, on inspecting the convoys of

the criminals, ask them if they are the persons mentioned in the lists; and when these furnish data tending to prove the contrary, they keep them back, and cause their cases to be revised. In this manner it happens that justice is sometimes rendered to the innocent.

With closed doors there cannot be any justice; and, while there is no publicity in Russia, the judges alone will be the gainers by suits.

At Klemovitschi, the secretary of the tribunal of the town and liberties was charged, in the absence of the judges, to commence the proceedings in a case in which a young female was concerned. He had reason to believe that she was a virgin, and offered to save her at the price of her honour. The crime was consummated in court; but it was betrayed by certain indications on her dress. The attorney of the place followed up the affair, and the secretary was turned out of his post. But how many other facts of the like nature, or worse, must pass unperceived!

Chapter VIII.

OF RUSSIAN LITERATURE.

Is there a Russian literature or not? Such is the question that one frequently hears asked, and not merely by men who can tell you nothing more about Russia than the perpetual phrase, "It is very cold there," nor by those who carry their simplicity so far as to inquire if it is really true that the Russians are Christians.

Persons of superior understanding and extensive knowledge make no scruple to solve the question in a negative manner. "As to Slavonian literature," said a celebrated Frenchman one day, "it has nothing to boast of but

a translation of La Fontaine's fables." The honourable peer was somewhat mistaken. Russia has had her La Fontaine in Kryloff, whom distinguished poets have been pleased to translate into French, as well as into Italian.

We must take leave to be more reserved, and not to answer in so evasive a manner. We shall therefore assert that there are at least as many, if not more, reasons for admitting than for denying the existence of a Russian literature. If literary productions, be their value what it may, are capable of constituting a literature, Russia incontestibly has one; if, on the contrary, we would give the name of literature only to a series of compositions which defy time and the revolutions of taste, and which are proof against the progress of knowledge, we must confess that she has very few and scarcely any of these.

Literature in Russia is very nearly what the Romance literature formerly was in France. In like manner as this was intermediate be-

tween Latin literature and French literature, so, in Russia, the literature at present existing may be considered as intermediate between the Slavonian literature and that which Russia will probably have some time hence. It will perhaps seem strange that we should speak of a Slavonian literature in opposition to a Russian literature, when the first is composed, in Russia, almost exclusively of religious books; but, there, as in other countries, the monks were long the only depositaries of knowledge, the only literary men; their language, or that of the Church, which originated among the Slavonians of the Danube, was the first written language, and still retains over the spoken language, or the Russian language properly so called, an influence as prejudicial as at first it was beneficent, by initiating the Russians all at once into the beauties of the sacred Scriptures. The profane language has at this day great difficulty to make its way through this ecclesiastical slang.

The Russian language is far from being

formed, and it cannot have a literature without a well elaborated idiom. In France, in England, in Germany, one may create new words, introduce new expressions, but the authors of a century back will be read for centuries to come; while it is not probable that the Russian authors now read will be read a hundred years hence. They will be thrust aside among historical curiosities, consulted, perchance even relished, for the originality or the substance of their ideas, but assuredly not for the form in which they have been clothed. This fate has already overtaken the most ancient of them.

The Russian language has not yet received its definitive stamp: a medley of Slavonian, foreign, and Russian words, use has not consecrated some, definitively rejected others, created new or national terms enough for the new or foreign ideas. Hence, among other things, the Russian authors are divided into two camps, which are engaged in implacable hostility on the question whether to prefer sei

or *eto*, two words meaning precisely the same thing (equivalent to *this*), and both of which are equally destitute of harmony, the first being more Slavonian and the second more Russian. These are the watchwords of two parties and two schools, the Slavonian school, and the Russian school. This division is met with even in politics: the Slavonians are on all points devoted to ancient usages, enemies of Peter the Great and of European civilization.

The rules of Russian grammar are far from fixed, tolerably arbitrary, and confused; in consequence there are not, perhaps, in the country a hundred persons who write their language correctly; authors themselves vary more or less in their orthography. Several Greek letters were excluded from the Russian language by an ordinance of Peter the Great; the letter *jate* (*e* derived from the *i*,) is still a source of infinite difficulties to every body, and, its utility being almost null, there is reason to believe that some influential person will

banish it, to gratify those whom it embarrasses. There are still two *i* 's in the Russian alphabet, the *i of ten* and the *i of eight*, names which they received from the circumstance that the Slavonians used the letters for figures; the first must be strictly put before vowels, and will certainly have the fate of the *epsilon*, which was banished from use by Peter I. The Greek *f* and *y* are likewise almost superfluous

The Russian language is inaccessible to foreigners, because it presents no conformity with the other languages. It is of doubtful harmony and of equivocal richness, but easily managed, and susceptible of becoming very expressive. It is not sonorous for many reasons—the multiplicity of discordant sounds of the *stscha*, of *y*, of *kh;* then again the predominance of the consonants over the vowels, and of hard syllables over the soft syllables. Its copiousness consists only in double uses, or in the use of words perfectly equivalent, which by no means constitutes richness. A language

cannot be called rich unless it is capable of expressing, in different words, all the shades of ideas, all the variations of feelings, and the Russian is too little cultivated to vie in this respect with foreign languages. Its synonyms are distinguished for the most part only by the kind of style in which they are employed. The Slavonian words belong to a higher order of composition, as to the elevated line of poetry, while their equivalents in Russian are reserved for prose. Most frequently it is the very same word, to which the Russians have added a vowel, which forms precisely the distinctive character of the genius of their language. Thus, *breg* in Slavonian, the bank, is called *bereg* in Russian; *vlas*, hair, is in Russian *volos:* the two former are used only in poetry. The exigences of rhythm frequently cause Slavonian words to be preferred to those of the modern idiom, and thus oppose the unity of the language.

The Russian language has, however, one advantage, which consists in the facility of the

constructions which it possesses, like the Greek and the Latin, and which it owes more especially to the existence of the declensions; this freedom permits the distribution of words in the sentence, according to the importance of the expressions and the force of the ideas.

So much is certain, that Russian literature is in its infancy; for it has nothing to boast of but poets, and poetry has always been the first step of a nation in the career of letters. There is not a single Russian philosopher. Karamsin is the only historian of his country, and he himself, in the opinion of many persons, is rather an agreeable story-teller than a profound historian. To this opinion I by no means subscribe; for I think that, if Karamsin is not the Niebuhr of Russia, he has more than one claim to be called its Gibbon, if it is absolutely necessary to judge by comparison of the known from the unknown. The other Russian historians are but annalists or compilers.

Karamsin is generally considered, and with

good right, as the reformer of the Russian language. It was he who first had the courage to introduce into it the turns of foreign but totally indispensable phrases. Superior in style to Lomonossof, he is frequently inferior to him in the logical concatenation of ideas; though the historical subtilties of Lomonossof bear at times the impress of parodox.

Karamsin's history exhibits a strange medley of liberalism and servilism, equally dissembled and disguised. What more honest than that maxim professed by him, that savage nations are fond of liberty and independence, and civilized nations of order and peace! Elsewhere, in relating the cruelties of Ivan IV., whose reign inspired some of his finest pages, we find him exclaiming, that the Russians perished for absolutism, as the Spartans did at Thermopylæ.

The novel has scarcely sprung up in Russia, and it cannot yet claim a single classic work. Still some distinguished productions of that class are enumerated, such as "Jurii," "Milos-

lavsky," and "Roslavlef," by Zagoskine; "the Icehouse," by Lajeschnikof; "The Family of the Kholmskis;" "The Dead Souls," by Gogol. To make amends, there is a whole host of tale-writers, at the head of whom must be placed, M. Pavlof, whose "Yatagan" and "The Demon" are productions of sufficient merit to grace the literature of any country; M. Dahl, more national than his name; Count Sallohub, the gentleman of Russian authors; the fertile Marlinski, who is no other than Alexander Bestouchef, exiled to Siberia in consequence of the revolt of 1825, and killed in the Caucasus; the patriotic Glinka, &c. In the class of science, there is a complete penury. Kaïdanof's "Universal History" is not even a good school-book. M. Arsenief's "Statistics of Russia" and his "History of Greece" only prove what he could have done had he dared to write; his "Geography" does not prove even that. In politics there is absolutely nothing. As for jurisprudence, M. Nevoline's "Encyclopædia" is mentioned with commendation.

M. Mouravief has made himself singular by his theological works. M. Norof has published "Travels" in Sicily, to Jerusalem, and in Egypt, where biblical observations are agreeably mingled with archæology. M. Levchine has produced a description of the steppes of the Kirghise Kaïssacks, which has been translated into French. Father Hyacinth has studied China under all its aspects; thanks to his long residence in the Celestial Empire as a Russian missionary. He has consequently become an authority on every subject relative to the Chinese language, literature, and manners.

Journalism is in a state of the deepest degradation. "The Northern Bee," the only daily journal, not official, which assumes the title of political journal, cannot get or dares not publish any domestic news, and is more than circumspect in regard to foreign news. It flounders in a slough of vulgar, low polemics, feasts itself upon the vile flatteries addressed to the Russian government, and torments itself

to bar the road against all intelligence which deviates from its own ruts, against every free spirit, and against every heart that has the least independence. Messrs. Gretsch and Boulgarine are at the head of this publication. The first has the character of being an excellent *purist*, but a worse than middling novelist; the second is a tale-writer, who aims at the piquant without rising above the trivial. They are neither of them Russians, which does not prevent them from being the stanchest patriots in Russia: the one is of German origin, the other of Polish; without prejudice to Germany or Poland be this said. Genius and baseness are of all countries.

If Russia has but one daily journal that is not official, on the other hand, the number of monthly "Reviews" is considerable; they frequently contain valuable articles, among others which are insignificant, worthless, or bad. The "Reading Library," edited by M. Sinkovsky; the "Patriotic Annals," by the indefatigable M. Kräfsky; and the "Moscovite,"

which has been recently transferred by M. Pogodine to M. Kiréïevsky, are the most estimable of these publications; but their encyclopædic and voluminous form bears witness to the infancy of this species of literature. M. Polevoï's "Moscow Telegraph" has nobly distinguished itself in the history of Russian journalism, and been suppressed for its liberal spirit. The "Son of the Country" and the "Russian Courier" have closed their melancholy career. M. Korsakof's "Pharos" is a subject of raillery for M. Boulgarine himself; it darkens rather than enlightens. The "Contemporary," by M. Pletnef, does not answer the legitimate hopes given by Pouschkine, the founder of that quarterly review, and has ceased to agree with its name. The "Literary Gazette," which reminds one by its title of that founded by Pouschkine and Baron Delweg, appears three times a week, keeps itself aloof from the obscurantism of a Gretsch and a Boulgarine, and in its spirit resembles the "Patriotic Annals."

Beside Messrs. Gretsch and Boulgarine are placed at the head of Russian journalism, Messrs. Polévoï and Sinkovsky, who represent a less dark and more consolatory shade. M. Sinkovsky is not deficient either in science or acuteness of understanding. M. Polevoï has made himself a study for the mass of Russian readers. He has published a "History of Russia," unfinished and imperfect, and a great quantity of tales and dramatic pieces, in which patriotism is coupled with a courtier-like obsequiousness that descends to servility. Such are "Pauline, the Siberian," the "Grandfather of the Russian Navy," "Igolkine," &c. His drama of "Death or Honour" forms an exception to this sad rule, and is liberal without being national. For the rest, M. Polevoï is a writer more deserving of indulgence than any other, on account of his circumstances. We must also do him the justice to admit that, whenever he has had leisure to take pains with his articles of criticism, he has risen above mediocrity.

But let us return to poetry, which alone has attained a tolerably high degree of development in Russia. I shall not treat here either of Lomonossof, not less profound than universal, who, on the same day, made astronomical observations, and wrote pages of history or philosophy, fruits of his studies in Germany, or even bespoken odes; nor of Soumarakof, as insipid as he was old; nor of Trediakovski, not less ridiculous than dull; nor of Fon-Visine, that pamphleteer of the age of Catherine, equally witty and sarcastic. His "Court Grammar," several comedies, and his "Letters from France," defy time and the revolution which the Russian language has undergone since he wrote. Neither will I pause at Dimitrief, whose fables are better than his odes; nor even at Derjavine, who wanted nothing but science to be the Russian Göthe; nor at Kniajnine, the father of Russian comedy; nor at Ozerof, the real creator of tragedy in his country, and whose "Dmitri Donskoi," "Fingal," and "Œdipus," are meri-

torious imitations of foreign dramas. Unfortunately, these pieces no more exhibit the stamp of originality than that of genius, and are not remarkable either for the plot or the characters.

All these authors belong to by-gone ages, and their language has become so antiquated, that it excites regret to see so many fine ideas and happy sentiments doomed to oblivion.

Pouschkine, Krylof, and Griboïédof, are the three worthy representatives of modern Russian literature; all three died during the present reign. Griboïédof was assassinated in Persia, where he performed the functions of chargé d'affaires. Pouschkine fell in a duel in 1836; and Krylof expired peacefully, as he lived, amidst the general esteem. The court bestowed a splendid funeral on this man, who gave it no umbrage.

Krylof is the Russian La Fontaine, in all the glory and splendour of that name; he is the good-natured and the pure, the profound and the humorous fabulist, whose imitations

are equalled only by his original productions, and who leaves far behind him the fables of Khemnitzer and Ismaïlof.

Griboïédof has left a master-piece, "The Misfortune of Genius." One might say, in one sense, that he has opened, but it would be more correct to say, that he has closed, the arena of comedy, inasmuch as he has attained a height to which no writer either before or since has arrived. By his master-piece he has, as it were, exhausted Russian comedy, and rendered it impossible for time at least, or manners, to be such as he has depicted them. So cleverly has he seized and delineated the defects of his countrymen, that he has left nothing to do even for genius, which is obliged to wait till time, remodelling characters, has destroyed the resemblance of Griboïédof's portraits. This resemblance is already beginning to be effaced for some, the originals of which are becoming more rare, but the principal hero of the comedy has lost none of the interest that he ever excited. If Famoussof, the

boyar,[1] and Scalosoub, the military officer, have grown rather old under the influence of civilization; the Tschatskis have only multiplied, and you meet with but too many of those young Russians, who, on returning from abroad, find their own country unendurable, and leave it again, if not for ever at least for as long a time as possible. Moltschaline is the worthy representative of the Russian *employés;* his very name, which signifies to *hold one's tongue,* admirably expresses the quality which must distinguish every *employé* in Russia, and which Griboïédof has so cleverly portrayed in these words:—"You must not have an opinion of your own." His dialogue with Tschatski reveals a distinguished painter of manners.

"*Tschatski.* Now that we have an opportunity to say a word to one another, Dmitri Alexandrowitsch, what is now your kind of life?"

"*Moltschaline.* The same as it used to be."

"*Tschat.* And, formerly, how did you live?

To-day as yesterday; from the pen to cards, from cards to the pen; ebb and flood have their fixed hour."

"*Molt.* Since I have been in the archives, I have had three rewards."

"*Tschat.* Ranks and grandeur tempted you, I suppose?"

"*Molt.* Every one to his talent."

"*Tschat.* What is your's?"

"*Molt.* I have two—sobriety and regularity."

"*Tschat.* Magnificent ones, forsooth, and worth all ours put together."

"*Molt.* The ranks have not smiled upon you; you have not prospered in the service."

"*Tschat.* Ranks are given by men, and men are liable to make mistakes."

The Russian young ladies are cleverly hit off in these few words.

"Our young ladies understand how to prank themselves in taffeta and crape; they cannot utter a word with simplicity, but only in a charmingly mincing manner; they sing French ballads, taking the highest notes; they attach

themselves to military officers because they are themselves *patriots*.

"And what of our old ones? When once they perk up their heads, and clap themselves down to the table to talk over matters, every word is a verdict, for they are all thorough-bred; and sometimes they run on about government in such a way, that, if any spy were to overhear what they say, woe betide them!"

The indignant imagination of Tschatski attacks all the abuses of Russia; it lashes them unmercifully, and without the authorization of the censorship.

"I should have devoted myself to fable; I am passionately fond of fable; nothing but satires on lions and eagles. People may call them animals, but they are tzars for all that."

Tschatski reviews his old Moscow acquaintances, ridiculing them all, and while he stigmatizes the vices of Russia one after another, Famoussof incessantly interrupts him with the exhortation—

"Give up your liberal ideas; pay attention

to the management of your estates; and above all, go and serve." "I am ready to serve," he replies, "but I have a great objection to be subservient."

The "Misfortune of Genius" has been found fault with for having no plot, but such a vein of wit and sarcastic humour runs through the whole piece that this defect is scarcely perceived.

To find anything to rival Griboïédof, we must turn to another sphere, and other characters. Of this M. Gogol was duly sensible, and he has done it with success. In Little Russia, his native country, and in his southern imagination, he has found an abundant source of inspiration. His "Reviser" is rich in grotesque characters and in comic scenes. Nature is there exhibited in all her prominent traits, unvarnished and unadorned—a burlesque Nature, which the author is at no pains to disguise or to embellish, in any of her freaks, however unamiable.

Pouschkine is the representative of Russian

genius, the head of the literature of his country. Highly educated, noble, hot, persecuted, he united in himself all the requisites for success, and death carried him off amidst his most glorious triumphs, at the moment when, after having been the ornament of Russia, he became her prop and beacon.

Banished three times from the capital, wandering in those parts to which Ovid was exiled, his Muse conversed worthily with the Latin poet, and exhaled her sorrows in a touching epistle which he addressed

"TO JASYKOF.

"A tender tie has in all ages bound poets together: they are priests of the Muses; the same flame thrills them. Strangers to one another from accident, they are akin by inspiration. I swear, Jasykof, by the shade of Ovid, that I am related to thee.

"It is long since I went, one morning, along the Dorpat road, to carry my clumsy staff to

thine hospitable abode, and came back with a heart full of the picture of thy life exempt from care, of thy free and animated converse, and of the strains of thy sonorous lyre. But Fate plays maliciously with me: long have I been wandering without home at the behest of despotism. When I fall asleep, I know not where I may wake. At this time, alone in gloomy exile, my days drag on in misery. Hearken, poet, to my call: disappoint not my hopes. In the village where lay concealed the pupil of Peter, the loved slave of tzars and tzarinas, and their forgotten guest, my Arabian ancestor, on the spot where, thinking no more of the court and the splendid promises of Elisabeth, he mused in the cold summers, in the shade of lime-tree alleys, on his distant Africa, I await thee!"

"Russlan and Ludmila," was the first poem of Pouschkine's; "The Prisoner in the Caucasus," "The Gipsies," "Pultava," "The Fountain of Bakhschissarai," "The Two Robber Brothers," and "Count Nouline" followed.

"The Prisoner in the Caucasus" is one of his best productions, though he himself always considered it as the work of a raw youth. The different translations of it which have been made give but a faint idea of the original. Nature—one of the most beautiful natures in the world, that of the Caucasus, has been copied most exquisitely; and the noble and virgin love of the daughter of the mountains admirably embellishes this picture. Only listen to her language, at once passionate and tender, voluptuous and chaste; see her hand the milk to the Russian prisoner, saw asunder his fetters, give him liberty, and stay without him.

The warlike manners of the Circassians are also admirably depicted in this poem.

"He watched for whole hours how at times the agile Circassian, in a vast desert, in a long-haired cap and black bourka, inclining over the pommel of the saddle, supporting himself with neat foot in the stirrup, flew along at the will of his courser, and accustomed himself beforehand to war.

"He admired the beauty of his simple and martial dress. The Tscherkess is covered with armour, of which he is both proud and fond. He wears a coat of mail, and carries a musket, the Cuban bow and quiver, the dagger, and the sabre, the trusty associate of his toils and his leisure. Nothing fatigues him; no sound betrays his presence. On foot or on horseback, he is always the same, invincible and indomitable. A terror to the careless Cossacks, his wealth is a mettlesome horse, bred in the mountains, his faithful and patient companion.

"What art thou musing on, Cossack? Thou art calling to mind past years, thy bivouac in a tumultuous camp, the conquering shouts of the regiments, and thy country. Perfidious reverie! Farewell to the free *stanitza*, the paternal hearth, the silent Don, war, and cherry-cheeked damsels! A secret foe steals to the bank, the arrow is drawn from the quiver, away it flies, and the Cossack falls upon the blood-stained hill."

"Pultava" pictures the ambition and the perfidy of Mazeppa, and the love of the septuagenarian for his god-daughter, the Princess Maria Kotschoubeï, who forgot the gray hair of the veteran in the splendour of the grand-hetman. In opposition, the poet shows us the magnificence and power of Kotschoubeï, his thirst of revenge against the man who had stolen his daughter—the man who had imparted to him all the secrets of his rancorous and haughty spirit, and even his recollections of that entertainment, at which Peter had seized him by the beard, an insult which Mazeppa had sworn to wash away in the blood of the Tzar, and also his plot with the King of Sweden. Kotschoubeï denounces the whole to Peter, and an aspirant to the hand of his daughter, a young and noble Cossack, carries to the Tzar his letter concealed in his schako, that schako which will not fall but with his head. The chivalrous Peter sends the denunciation to Mazeppa himself, and leaves him to decide the fate of Kotschoubeï. The prince is thrown

into a dungeon; and the hetman strives to wring from him, in his turn, his secret, the secret of his treasures. "Three treasures have been the comfort of my life," replies Kotschoubeï to Orlik, the confidant of Mazeppa; "my first treasure was my honour, that the torture took from me; my second treasure, the honour of my beloved daughter, I watched over with trembling, day and night, Mazeppa has robbed me of that; but I have preserved my third treasure, my sacred revenge, and that I am preparing to carry to my God."

Kotschoubeï's head is struck off; Mazeppa triumphs, but the battle of Pultawa overthrows his plans, and he flees in the track of the pugnacious King, "who would fain force Fate to turn like a regiment at the sound of the drum." After the execution of her father, Maria forsakes the house of her husband, as she had fled from that of her father to ally herself with the ferocious hetman. In the night following the battle of Pultawa, she appears to him in a dream, pale, in rags, and a maniac.

"Eugene Onéguine" is a novel in verse, full of nature and a charming gaiety, and a picture of provincial manners, the heroes of which please as much as they interest. The account of Lenski's duel with Onéguine has more especially been dictated by inspiration: one would say that Pouschkine foresaw his own fate when delineating that of the poet Lenski; hence, those verses will not die, but be for ever treasured in the hearts of the Russians. The double interest which attaches to this curious piece induces us to translate it entire.

"The pistols have glistened; the hammer strikes with a sound against the ramrod, the balls drop into the fluted barrel, and the cock has clicked for the first time. The powder in gray streaks is spread over the cover of the pan. The jagged flint, firmly fixed, is re-set. Behind a post, neighbour Guillot, confused, takes his place. The two adversaries throw off their cloaks. Zaretski has measured thirty-two paces, with wonderful accuracy; he has

placed the friends at the two extremities, and each has taken his pistol.

"'Now, approach one another'. Coolly, without yet taking aim, the combatants, with firm step, slowly, both at once, advanced four steps—four steps towards death. Then Eugene, without ceasing to advance, began first to raise his pistol slightly. They took five more steps, and Lenski, closing the left eye, began also take aim; but at that moment Onéguine fired . . . . . The poet's last hour has struck; he drops his weapon in silence.

"He gently raises his hand to his breast. His dim eye expresses death, not pain. Thus it is, that, on the declivity of the mountains, glistening and sparkling in the sun, slowly descends the avalanche of snow. Seized with a sudden chill, Onéguine ran to his antagonist looked at him, called him . . . . . to no purpose. He is no more! The young bard has found a premature end. The tempest has raged; a charming flower has withered since morning. The fire is extinguished upon the altar.

"He was lying motionless, and the dull rigidity of his brow had in it something awful. He was wounded in the breast; the ball had passed through and through, and the blood issued reeking from the wound. But a moment ago that heart throbbed with inspiration, hate, hope, and love. Life played in that body; the blood boiled. Now, as in a forsaken house, all is dark and quiet: silence reigns there for ever. The shutters are closed; the windows are whitened with chalk. The mistress of the house has disappeared; she is gone, but whither? God knows. All traces of her are lost.

"It is agreeable to enrage by an impudent epigram an improvident enemy, to see how, lowering his horns in fury, he cannot help recognizing himself in it with shame. It is more delightful still, my friends, if he stupidly bellows, 'It is I!' it is more delightful still to prepare for him in silence an honourable grave, and to take aim slowly at his pale brow at a noble distance—and yet to send him to his fathers cannot make you happy.

"And if before your pistol there falls a young friend, who, glass in hand, may have offended you by a saucy look, or by an inconsiderate answer, or by any other nothing, or who, in a sudden fit of anger, has even fiercely challenged you, say what feeling will overwhelm your soul, when, stretched motionless on the ground before you, with death on his brow, he stiffens by degrees, and remains deaf and silent to your agonizing call!.

"Filled with the anguish of remorse, tightly grasping the pistol, Eugene gazed at Lenski. 'He is dead,' cried the second—'dead! Horror-stricken at that terrible exclamation, Onéguine retired trembling and called his servants. Zaretski gently laid the cold corpse upon a sledge, and took home with him the funereal treasure. The horses, scenting death, neighed, capered, champed the steel bit till it was covered with white foam, and flew like an arrow.

"You grieve my friends for the poet. In the brightness of joyous hopes, disappointing

the world, scarcely out of the garb of boyhood, he is extinguished. Where is the burning agitation, where the noble fire of lofty, tender, and courageous thoughts and feelings! Where are the stormy desires of love, the thirst of knowledge and study, the dread of vice and disgrace, and you, traditional dreams, foretaste of a celestial life, ye dreams of sacred poesy!

"Perhaps he was born for the happiness of mankind, or at least for glory. His lyre, now silent, might have rung to distant ages by sonorous and endless accents. Perhaps the poet's place was marked high on the ladder of the world; perhaps his martyr-shade has carried with it a sacred mystery; for us is lost a creative voice, and, beyond the tomb, the hymn of time, the blessings of nations cannot reach him.

"But it may be too that a common fate awaited the poet. The years of youth would have passed; the fire of the soul would have cooled within him; he would have altered

much, forsaken by the Muses; he would have married; then, living in the country, happy and deceived, he would have worn a gown of *tricot*, and would have become acquainted with the realities of life; he would have had the gout at forty; eating, drinking, yawning, becoming fat, growing old, he would have died at last in his bed, amidst children, crying women, and physicians."

The last moments of Pouschkine were poisoned by the impression of a domestic misfortune, a misfortune whether real or imaginary, it has been impossible to ascertain. We know not whether we have to accuse his imagination, his enemies, or his wife, of having hurried him to the grave. All of them perhaps contributed to do so. Anonymous letters, sent to him concerning the real or alleged infidelity of his wife, urged him to challenge his rival, his own brother-in-law, who had the misfortune to wound him mortally.

Pouschkine had African blood in his veins: his great grandfather was a negro in the ser-

vice of Peter I., General Hannibal. Hence, perhaps, that susceptibility, which was one of the secrets of his genius, and to which sufficient indulgence was not shown. He was as liberal as it is possible to be under the iron rod of the Russian government; but he was still more patriotic than liberal. His post of gentleman has not effaced the remembrance of his persecution, any more than his verses addressed "To the Calumniators of Russia" have destroyed the effect of his liberal poems. His ode on "Liberty," and his "Genealogy," are the most curious of his unpublished pieces. Neither has his satire on Ouvarof, the Minister of Public Instruction, been introduced into the collection of his complete works. To make it pass the censorship, he had recourse to a stratagem: entitling it, "The Death of Lucullus, translated from the Latin," he sent it to a Moscow review, by which it was eagerly accepted and published. Being summoned before the minister of the police, and required to tell on whom he had made these verses, "On

yourself, Count," he replied. As the latter burst into a laugh, he asked why M. Ouvaroff had not done the same when he was told that the satire was directed against him. Count Benkendorf reported the whole to the Emperor, saying that, after such a witty reply, he had not the courage to reproach the poet.

His tales in verse are read and read again with ever new delight; his epistles are as beautiful as they are numerous; but his prose does not appear to me equal to his poetry: I am aware, nevertheless, that every body is not of this opinion. His prose tales, I think, have not the particular stamp of his genius; though "The Captain's Daughter," "The Queen of Spades," and some others, occupy a distinguished place in Russian literature. His "History of Peter the Great," went no further than the plan, and that of the "Rebellion of Pugatschef," remarkable as it is, has not revealed a Tacitus in the author. Pouschkine made an attempt at tragedy in "Boris Goudonof," in which sublime verses are found mixed up with prose

All his lyrical productions are so many titles to renown. His elegy on the death of Chenier is full of profound lessons to despots.

"Be proud and rejoice thee, poet; thou hast not bowed the obedient head before the disgrace of thy days; thou hast despised the mighty tyrant. Thy torch, flashing terror, has thrown a cruel light on the council of the chiefs without glory. . . . . . Thy verse has whizzed past their ears.

"'Be proud, O Bard! . . . And thou, ferocious beast, play with my head: it is in thy claws. But listen, know this, atheist—my cry, my furious laugh, pursue thee! Drink our blood, live upon murders: thou art but a pigmy, a cowardly pigmy. And the hour will come, and it is not far off. The tyrant will fall. Indignation will at length burst forth. The sighs of the country will awaken wearied Fate. I am going; it is high time; but thou shalt follow me: I wait for thee."

In a preceding passage, Pouschkine makes Chenier say:—

"'I shall not see you, O days of glory and happiness! the axe awaits me. My last hour approaches. To-morrow, the execution! With solemn hand, the executioner will lift my head by the hair above an indifferent crowd. Farewell, my friends. My ashes, deprived of a home, shall not repose in the garden where we passed days free from care, amidst sciences and feasts, and where we chose beforehand the place for our urns. But, my friends, if my memory is sacred to you, fulfil my last request: weep my fate in silence. Beware of exciting suspicions by tears. In our days, you know, tears are a crime. A brother now dares not mourn for a brother.

"'One more request! You have heard a hundred times these verses, neglected creations, fugitive thoughts, scattered traditions of my youth. My friends, those pages contain my whole life, hopes and dreams, tears and loves. Recognize them, I beg of you, in Abel and Fanni; collect these tributes offered to an innocent Muse. The rigid world and proud

renown will know nothing of them. Alas! my head will fall before the time; my unripe genius has not created works lofty enough for glory: I shall soon die all. But, pious towards my shade, preserve my manuscript. When the storm has passed away, meet sometimes in religious circle, to read my faithful scroll, and, after listening long, say, It is he, it is his own discourse. And I, forgetting my sepulchral sleep, will enter unseen, and take my place among you; I shall forget myself while listening to you: I will quench my thirst with your tears, and perhaps I shall be cheered by affection; perhaps my sad and pale *captive*, listening to my songs of love.' . . . . . . But suddenly breaking off his sweet song, the poet bowed down his pensive head."

"The Drowned," "The Copper Chevalier," and "The Nymph," one of Pouschkine's last pieces, approach perfection. If, in his poems, he may pass for an imitator of Lord Byron, his "Nymph" reminds us of Göthe by the profundity of the ideas and the finish of the versifica-

tion. Ill-informed critics have said of Pouschkine, that he had taken upon himself an easy task, that of transferring into his own language the ideas of other nations. Those who have thus spoken had not to overcome the same difficulty as the Russian poet; they wrote in a language ready made, and have not risen above mediocrity. Pouschkine is, in every respect, a national poet; in his verses you feel that you are living in Russia, that you are breathing a Russian air; whether he praises or lashes his country, a flattering friend or a severe counsellor, the Russians are equally fond of him, and honour in him their greatest glory. It is likewise he who, next to Karamsin, has contributed most to the formation of the Russian language.

In fulfilment, however, of our critical duty, we must admit that his verses are encumbered with Slavonisms; and this is a fault with which he frequently reproached himself towards the end of his career, and which he strove to avoid in his last compositions. Having neither

rival to excite his zeal, nor master who might have served him for a model, nor critic whose strictures were worthy of attention*, he has at times neglected his style, and indulged in licences which detract from classic purity. That indolence of mind so common in the Russians has also contributed its share to this result. Whenever the subject kept his mind in exercise, he could give an exquisite polish to his compositions, and, according to his own admission, it was these that cost him most trouble. In him feeling and judgment are superior to imagination; happy reflexions mingle with a strong and warm but not romantic sensibility. He also passed too frequently from one idea to another without any transition.

Ryléïéf was the poet and martyr of liberty; a poet circumspect by compulsion, it is true, but not less dear to the friends of that noble

* The blind animosity of M. Boulgarine against him served only to dishonour himself and to disgust Pouschkine.

cause; for it is admirable to see poetry in open conflict with power, it is not less curious to see it breathing freely in its fetters. Ryléïéf was, moreover, a man of action; he displayed courage under all circumstances, and, though his unhappy end* should not cause his literary merit to be estimated above its real value, the latter is sufficient to overpower the voices of servile courtiers, who make it a duty to depreciate the talent of every man condemned by power, and so impose silence on slaves, who cannot be grateful for sacrifices of which they are not worthy. If it is a fault to exaggerate one's own merit, not to acknowledge that of others is the surest sign of ignorance.

Ryléïéf's poetry always breathes a sacred love of liberty and a profound contempt for tyranny. The subject is taken in preference from the cause of independence. Vaïnarovsky was the champion of it in Little Russia,

* He was hanged, as one of the ringleaders in the conspiracy of 1825.

and the confession of Nalivaïko is that of the poet himself.

"'Tell me not, O holy father,' said the conspirator to the priest, 'that it is a heinous sin . . . . . I know what fate awaits him who first rises against the oppressors of the people. But where and when has liberty been purchased without sacrifices! . . . . My mother and my sister have sung to me an immortal past.

"'Well, my son, I will fulfil the desire of thy soul,' said Rogneda to Isiaslav; 'may my story breathe into thee the spirit of Rogovold; may it inflame thy blood with ardour for great actions, love for thy native land, and contempt of oppressors!'"

Kazlof, an elegant gentleman in his youth, blind for the greater part of his life, dictated, like Milton, his verses to his daughters. His mind and heart had gained in energy and beauty all that his body had lost on the day that he was struck with paralysis.

Dead for this world, he had exiled him-

self to the regions of thought; there concentrating his recollections, and recalling his past sensations, he has often risen in poetry to a great elevation; whether he has retraced scenes of nature, or depicted the situations of active life, or, lastly, sung the dreams of his imagination. In him sorrow is always mingled with pleasure, regret with love, hatred with resignation, and these contrasts form a medley interesting by its originality. "Tschernetz" (the Black Penitent,) and the "Princess Dolgorouky," are two of his poems, which will deservedly escape oblivion.

Joukovsky is a correct translator, a colourless poet, and a prose-writer of little celebrity. His "Bard in the Russian Camp" has gained him great popularity since 1812. His translations of Schiller and Byron are better. He is at this moment completing a translation of the "Odyssey." It was he who directed the education of the Grand Duke, heir to the Crown.

Jasykof has sung, with extraordinary talent, the pleasures of Bacchus and the manners of

the German students, among whom he contracted estimable principles, which have governed his life as well as his poetry. He has always adhered to the maxim which he has so well expressed in these beautiful verses:—

"Does the purple smile cheerily upon thee? is the sentence of arbitrary power terrible to thee? be thou innocent as a dove, bold and impetuous as the eagle; then will sweet and mysterious sounds rise from thine harmonious chords: charmed by these strains, the slave will forget his sufferings, and King Saul will lend an ear unto them."

It is no slender merit to have never flattered power; but this is not Jasykof's only one, and his songs will live as long as the recollections of university life.

It has often been remarked how close a correspondence there seems to exist between the life and the capacity of a man and the literal signification of his name. The proper names of Russians have in general a signification of some kind. Pouschkine means cannon;

Jasykof, tongue; Joukovsky, drone. In this manner, Pouschkine might pass for the alarm-gun, for from him dates a new era in Russian literature; and Joukovsky has said of Jasykof that his name was given to him on account of the purity of his language.

Baratynski is the most celebrated of Pouschkine's disciples. His youth was as unfortunate as his after-life was resigned. After he had been nine years a soldier in Finland, he passed the rest of his days in a peaceful retreat, and died at Naples. He has enriched the Russian language with several apt words, and literature with a great number of remarkable poems. "Edda the Gipsy" and his verses "On the Death of Göthe" will long survive him.

On the Death of Göthe.

"He appeared, and the aged bard closed his eagle eyes in peace. He died calmly, after having accomplished in this world all

that is of this world. Weep not over his sublime tomb; grieve not that the scull of genius is the heritage of worms.

"He is extinguished; but nothing under the sun of the living escaped his attention, and his heart had an echo for all that speaks to the heart. He traversed the universe on the wings of thought, and found limits only in that which has no bounds.

"Every thing supplied food for his mind: the works of sages, the creations of the inspired arts, the traditions of past ages, and the hopes of ages to come. By means of thought he could penetrate at pleasure into the cottage of the pauper as into the palace of the king.

"He lived a like life with all Nature. He listened to the rippling of the brook, he understood the rustling of the leaves, and felt the plants grow. For him the book of the stars had no secret, and the waves of the sea conversed with him.

"He observed and analyzed the entire man.

And, if the Creator has limited our transient existence to this terrestrial life, if nothing awaits us beyond the grave after the world of facts, his tomb will justify the Creator.

But, if it is given to us to live after death, he, who has lived out life here below, and who has, in sounds deep and sonorous, rendered to earth all that belongs to earth, he will arise with soul serene before the Eternal, and nothing terrestrial will trouble him in heaven."

The qualities of heart gained M. Baratynsky the love of all who approached him, and the severity which the Emperor Alexander displayed towards him only increased the interest felt for him by estimable men.

He was eleven years old, when the cadets of the corps of pages, seduced by Schiller's famous drama, formed a band of robbers, the eldest of whom, the captain, was but fourteen years of age. These silly youths amused themselves with stripping passengers and stowing away their booty intact in the loft of

their hotel. They continued these pranks for six months, during which the persons entrusted with their superintendence and education had not the slightest suspicion of the matter. At length, being taken in the fact, they were all expelled from the corps of pages. Baratynsky was one of them. When eighteen years of age, he solicited service, and, not obtaining it, he offered to enter a regiment as a private soldier. The Emperor had the cruelty to keep him in this situation for nine successive years.

In vain Russia rang with the fame of the young poet; in vain the highest functionaries interceded for him: the Tzar was inflexible. Prince Galitzine, Minister of Public Instruction, solicited his pardon every year on Good Friday; and at last he applied for it singly, to the exclusion of every other. Alexander's constant reply was, "How can you expect me to wear the epaulette with a man who has been a robber?" Baratynski was not a man at that time; he had not robbed; and he had voluntarily atoned for a juvenile fault. These

considerations could not convince the Emperor; till, at length, yielding to the entreaties of Diebitsch, he made Baratynsky an officer. The latter never wore the epaulette and immediately sent in his resignation. Men who raise themselves above the crowd, distinguish themselves from it even in their aberrations; and if I have paused to record this fact, it is because the advocates of power have at times thought fit to distort it.

Venevitinof had a presentiment of his end, when he wrote these lines:—

"Oh no, my friend, thy words are useless: presentiments are not liars, and it is long since I accustomed myself to comprehend their language. My soul said to me long ago: 'Thou shalt traverse the world like lightning: it is given to thee to feel all that can be felt; but thou shalt not enjoy life.'"

Lermontof, for a poem on the death of Pouschkine, was banished to the Caucasus, where he fell in a duel, like his illustrious master.

Prince Viazemsky and Baron Delweg have published several poems of merit.

Khomïakof has written two rather remarkable tragedies, "The False Demetrius," and "Jermak."

Tepliakof has left behind him two volumes of poetry, admired by many readers.

Madame Rostopchine has attempted light poetry, with the grace which characterizes her.

M. Venedictof relinquished his lyre as soon as he had drawn from it a few harmonious strains.

The number of young poets is considerable, and futurity reserves, without doubt, for some of them, a distinguished place in literature.

The principal obstacle to its development is the censorship. To the rigour of the laws which govern it, must be added the arbitrary system prevailing in that as in all the departments of Russian administration. As the heavy responsibility which rests upon the generals frequently prevents them from adopt-

ing useful decisions and gaining battles, so that to which the censors are subject checks all intellectual activity; for they often think it better to suppress a work than to let it pass, lest they may afterwards have reason to repent it. Their line of conduct is marked out only in a vague manner, and in general terms. They have to protect the interests of God and of his representative on earth: the monks watch over the first, and all have an eye upon the second. M. Delarue having translated into Russian Victor Hugo's lines (A une Belle) "Were I King, and were I God," was denounced by the metropolitan of St. Petersburg, and persecuted in the service. The Ambassador of Saxony directed the attention of the Emperor to an article by M. Tschedaef, who was forbidden to write anything more. One of the Emperor's daughters laid before her father a feuilleton of "The Invalid," describing the debut of a female Italian performer, though it had been postponed; and the poor author, who had written his article to

order, and beforehand, passed more than a month in the guard-house.

Messrs. Gretsch, Boulgarine, and Voiéïkof themselves have not escaped similar severity, and they have been shut up for having engaged in too virulent a controversy. Count Kleinmichel caused an author to be arrested for having made himself merry at the expense of the cravat of an officer of ways and communications. The censors themselves are frequently subjected to the same penalty or a still worse: he who allowed M. Tschedaef's article to pass was confined in a convent. Hence they are cautious even to absurdity. In that verse of Pouschkine's, which we have quoted, "Long have I been wandering at the behest of despotism," the word despotism was struck out, and the poet substituted for it inclemency, though not forming a rhyme. In the verse of Jasykof, "The purple smiles cheerily upon thee," the word Aurora was substituted for the purple.

The Russian censorship, as we see, is not only preventive, it is likewise repressive; and

responsibility reaches the writer, even when his work has been authorized. A man compromises himself more by his writings than by words, and in Russia a compromised man is a ruined man, for he cannot raise himself again but by abasement. The melancholy fate of most of the Russian authors is fit only to disgust with that career those who are most capable of shining in it. One does not like to follow in the track of martyrs, and their laurels have not charms for every body. When we see men ruin themselves by their talent, those who possess one hasten to bury it, or cross their arms in desperate inactivity. If tranquillity and repose are essential to the prosperity of literature, it requires also liberty. One groans and complains under the yoke, but one neither sings nor dreams, and one can scarcely think. Literature requires also an enlightened protection, and crowned philosophers become very rare in our days; the hand that wields the sword is seldom light enough for the pen. If literary productions

enlighten a nation, it is requisite also that the people should be enlightened in its turn, in order to promote the progress of literature, to encourage authors by distinguishing merit, and by appreciating it at its just value; and in this respect the Russians are at once too severe and too indulgent. Some have no taste but for foreign literature; others are content with very inferior productions. In short: *Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris.*

Chapter IX.

STATE OF INDUSTRY.

In Russia, agriculture is in the primitive state, a state of alarming backwardness. Dearths occur periodically: more or less general, they happen regularly every five or six years, and each time bring the country to the brink of ruin.

The fault of this is not, as one would be tempted to believe, in the severity and the inconstancy of the climate, but in the deplorable state of agriculture, which in Russia has not yet profited by the progress which it has made in other countries; it is likewise owing to the insufficiency of the ways of communication,

in consequence of which certain parts of the empire are sometimes glutted with corn, while others are suffering famine, without any possibility for the former to afford assistance to the latter. To this cause must be likewise attributed in a great measure the enormous differences that are remarked in the prices of grain; they are sometimes at 1 to 10, not only according to years, but even according to localities.

Pasturage, that teat of agriculture, is an object of no attention. Artificial meadows are generally unknown, and irrigation and draining still more so. The cattle spoil the grass, and the hay that is made is ill dried and badly preserved.

A simple routine presides over all the operations of agriculture. People sow, cut, and harvest, not at suitable seasons, but at such times as their forefathers were accustomed to do, reckoning from certain holidays, which are more or less moveable, according to the ancient calendar in force in this country.

Next to serfage, the practice of fallows, which prevails in Russia, is the principal cause of the wretched condition of agriculture. With this system, forage never can prosper, and consequently the cattle can neither attain the quantity nor acquire the quality desirable. Accidents of temperature have a different influence on the different agricultural crops, and there, where they are not varied, there is no remedy for those dearths which affect all productions at once. The want of hands is not an obstacle to the introduction of a better system of fallows; for it is more profitable to cultivate less land, but well, than to cultivate a great deal, but ill.

The cattle are in a state of incredible inferiority. For the most part, the Russian cows are like goats, and the horses employed in agriculture are of the size of asses. In the government of Archangel alone is still kept up the Kholmogor breed of cattle, which is of Dutch and English origin. In the south we meet with Hungarian horses; but those

two superior breeds of horned cattle have remained confined to the localities into which they were imported. The Russian sheep consumes quite as much as it brings in; the sheep of the Kirgises and of the Crimea serve exclusively for food, and their skins for making pelisses; their fleece is fit only for the fabrication of felt. Merinos are not to be found unless on the estates of some wealthy proprietors, and the Sicilian and Saxon breeds exist only in certain provinces.

The greater part of the cattle are raised in the steppes, where they are of no use for agriculture. It is from that quarter that Russia derives nearly the whole of the tallow and hides which she exports. It is likewise among the pastoral tribes that horses are most numerous: they constitute the whole wealth of the Kirgises and the Calmucks. There are Kirgises who keep herds of 10,000 horses, pasturing in bands according to their age, and guarded by stallions instead of herdsmen. The provinces of the Caucasus and of

the Don have likewise numerous and capital studs. The governments of Perm and Wiatka possess draught horses renowned for their agility, which were originally brought from the island of Oesel. The Crown keeps well furnished studs for the supply of the court and army; and, in this respect, private industry has not been backward. There are horse-fairs at Moscow, Lebedeine, Kharkov, Koursk, &c., and the German cavalries come to Russia to purchase remounts. Races have not yet acquired all the importance that is desirable.

The forests occupy an area of twenty-three millions and a half of dessiatines, half a million of which are in timber fit for the navy. It is in Siberia, along the river Ob, that this timber is preserved intact. That country is equally rich in cedars. The Russian colonies in America furnish for the construction of certain parts of ships, particularly bowsprits, a sort of wood that is in request, and is called odoriferous. In the south of Russia, the forests are gradually disappearing, and the

high price of wood begins already to be felt in the countries contiguous to the great canal lines, where a vast quantity is used in boat-building. Hence it were earnestly to be wished that the boats may speedily be superseded by steam-vessels. They have already been established on the Wolga, from Nijni to Astrakhan, on the Ural, and the Dnieper above the cataracts; and there is talk of constructing them for the Kour and the whole of the Mary canals. But the inveterate habits of the people, and the little importance of internal commerce, will long be powerful obstacles to the desirable development of steam navigation.

It is but a few years since the Government opened its eyes to the calamities impending over the country in consequence of the destruction of the forests; but the measures which it has adopted are insufficient, ill-planned, and still worse executed. Besides, they do not extend to the forests of private individuals, which are mostly joint property, and where each of the proprietors is desirous

to fell as much as possible. The stealing of wood is practised openly everywhere, and on a large scale. No economy is used in the employment of the trees, either for the extraction of the tar and pitch or in stripping off the bark, which serves for making the shoes generally used by the common people. Conflagrations also are very frequent, and often no pains are taken to extinguish them till they approach habitations. The use of turf, coal, or any other substance that might serve to spare the wood, is not common. Some dispositions, however, have been made for promoting the education of foresters, which promise to be useful: to this end, schools have been erected at Petersburg and Tzarskoïe-Selo, as well as two special courses at Mittau.

The breeding of bees is diffused throughout the whole empire, and is practised with success even in Siberia, where, however, the honey has not the perfume which distinguishes it in other countries. There are provinces which derive millions from this single branch of industry,

for the consumption is prodigious; honey is superseding sugar among the less wealthy classes; hydromel has ever been the favourite beverage of the Slavonians, and is becoming that of the Mahometans. The churches consume a great quantity of tapers, and, besides, Russia exports wax to foreign countries.

The culture of silk, on the contrary, has hitherto not prospered; and Government, after having exclusively devoted its attention to it, has relinquished it to private industry, which has no hopes of obtaining satisfactory results but in the Caucasus. The attempts made in the governments of Astrakhan, Ekaterinoslav, Kiev, &c., have not been crowned with success. The want of knowledge and of taste for this occupation, has been an obstacle at least quite as powerful as the climate.

The vine is cultivated and wine made with quite as much negligence as ignorance. The Caucasus, the Crimea, the Don, have vineyards which, under the management of skilful hands, might be capable of yielding satisfactory results.

Hunting and the fisheries are sources of considerable wealth for Russia, but the produce of which it would be rash to pretend to estimate, even in an approximative manner. Hunting is particularly important in Siberia, where it constitutes the exclusive occupation of several tribes, some of which pay their taxes in furs. The islanders are free from all tax, but on condition of hunting for the account of the American Company, which supplies them with the necessary utensils, and buys the animals of them at a fixed rate. All these countries abound in fallow-deer, and the species of animals most renowned for their furs; but this abundance is liable to great fluctuations, and is moreover suffering a diminution which is more and more perceptible. The interference of the Government is become absolutely necessary, as well to prevent the complete destruction of the animals, as to regulate the business of destroying them.

The most considerable fishery is carried on in the Caspian Sea and the rivers which

discharge themselves into it, particularly the Wolga, that mother of the Russian rivers. The fishery, after being monopolized by the Government, is become in a great measure free; but the curing of the fish needs great improvement.

The mines are destined to fill an important place in the resources of Russia, and are already a great profit to the Crown, as well as to some private persons. The Ural is rich in gold, platina, a metal which is the exclusive produce of Russia, iron, and copper. There too are found silver, malachite, and precious stones. In Siberia, the mines of Altai and Nertchinsk are particularly rich in silver; as are also the former in copper, and the latter in quicksilver. In Finland, there is found little silver, but so much the more copper and iron: there are sixteen mines of the latter metal. In Georgia, the silver mines are closed, but those of copper are of considerable importance. The province of Baku, recently acquired from Persia, abounds in sulphur and

naphtha. The total produce of the mines is estimated at about one hundred and sixty-five million francs per annum. From 1823 to 1836, there had been obtained five hundred thousand and fifty poods* of gold, and one thousand two hundred and fifty-five poods of platina. The extraction of salt is about thirty million poods per annum.

Notwithstanding all the efforts of the Government and the illusions of patriots, Russian industry is still in its infancy. Ancient processes, antiquated routines, are followed in preference in the manufactories. Those who are engaged in them are deficient in taste and technical knowledge, because they receive no special instruction, and the general civilization sets them at fault. The Government does not pay sufficient attention to the diffusion of normal schools of arts and trades, nor take pains to place information useful to the pursuits of industry within the reach of workmen, as is done in civilized countries.

* A pood is 36 lbs. avoirdupois.

The efforts which have been made for this purpose, either by the creation of new establishments, or by the introduction of courses of chemistry, mechanics, and drawing, into the existing schools, address themselves to children, and not to grown men; thus, among others, the foundlings of Moscow have masters for all these sciences, and it is but the smaller number of them that follow the career of industrial occupations.

The Russian government merely confines itself to securing manufacturers against all foreign competition, which causes them to persevere in their apathy and incapacity. To protect three or four thousand Russian manufacturers, it imposes annoying privations and excessive expense on millions of consumers; and, in spite of this factitious protection, the Russian manufacturers cannot compete with those of other countries. The raw materials, workmanship, living, are five times as cheap in Russia as in England, and, notwithstanding this immense advantage, Russian manufactured

goods are fifty and one hundred per cent. dearer than those of English production. Foreign manufacturers are not easily tempted to settle in Russia, though capitals there yield double and treble what they produce in other countries. The cause of this is the insecurity of property, the deplorable state of legislation and the judicial system, and the little consideration which persons engaged in the pursuits of industry enjoy either with the Government or in the public opinion.

So long as foreign competition does not excite the Russian manufacturers to produce goods of better quality, and so long as instruction shall not have descended to them, one cannot expect to see industry prosper, nor even those branches of it which are, in some measure, the exclusive property of Russia. Thus the hemp, the leather, the metals, which Russia produces in quantity or in quality superior to other countries, have not yet become objects of perfect elaboration. The Russians have still to learn the art of pro-

ducing varnished leather and leather for carriages; and if their sail-cloth is of good quality, the fine cloths must be imported from abroad. Their imitations in bronze are all servile copies, and cannot sustain a comparison with those of France. The bad taste of the silks surpasses anything that can be conceived, and their quality is notoriously very inferior. In woollen cloths they succeed only with the most ordinary qualities, and nothing but the excessive cheapness of these enables them to compete with foreign woollens. These goods are chiefly exported to China, but for the superior qualities they are obliged to help themselves out with foreign cloths. In 1839 there were already five hundred and fifty manufactories of woollens. The cotton manufacture has made great progress since the year 1825; in fourteen years the importation and fabrication have increased six-fold: the first has risen to a million poods, and the second to the estimated value of one hundred millions of assignat rubles. The national silk manu-

factures require four million rubles' worth of raw silk, and the foreign silks consumed amount to fourteen million assignat rubles. There are more than two thousand leather manufactories, and nearly two hundred of beet-root sugar, a number surpassing that of the other sugar manufactories. The productions derived from flax represent the sum of twenty-five million assignat rubles.

Roads for the most part wretched and impassable, middling only in certain places, seas inaccessible for a full half of the year, inveterate principles of dishonesty among the traders, laws elastic and injudicious in regard to bankruptcies, the want of instruction, the want of credit, the want of all consideration for the trading class, strictly confined in a caste, like the castes of India—here is a thousand times more than is necessary to paralyze every sort of commerce. The existence of fairs, the colossal operations of which people delight to boast of, are another proof of the instability and the insufficiency of commercial operations.

The whole external commerce of Russia is in the hands of foreigners. The navigation is principally performed by their ships; foreigners are at the head of the first commercial houses, and in Petersburg alone there are three thousand of them. Even in Asia, commerce is carried on only through the medium of the natives, who attend the fair of Nijni to buy Russian goods; and it is they too who conduct the caravans. The Russian merchants are so poor in capital, that foreign traders are obliged not only to give them a year's credit for what they sell them, but even to advance by so much the price agreed to be paid for the goods which they buy of them.

The prohibitive system shackles all the movements of foreign commerce. A state sells only in proportion to what it buys, and Russia, in refusing her productions to foreigners, thereby contracts her own exportation, money being frequently no more in demand than any other commodity. English competition is supplanting the Russian com-

merce more and more in all the markets of Asia, and Russia finds herself limited to the sale of raw productions only in those markets. In China, England is preparing to strike her a blow from which she will perhaps never recover. The Aleutian Islands and the Russian colonies in America impoverish more than they enrich the Company which monopolizes them.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE ARMY.

RUSSIA believes that she has resolved this problem: that in the army the cane can and ought to supply the place of honour. "The cane," said a Russian professor of tactics, "gives ardour to the soldier." It is considered as the best means for leading troops into fire. One day, in the Caucasus, the Russians, attacked with grape-shot, refused to advance. General Wiliaminof seated himself upon a drum in the first line, and called out of the ranks several soldiers, whom he ordered to be flogged. He then commanded the battalion to advance, and the Russians drove back the Circassians. Ever

after this affair, Wiliaminof was reputed a master in Russian tactics. This is one instance out of a thousand, and Prince Schakhovskoy had recourse to the same expedient with his grenadiers at the bridge of Ostrolenka. "How can it be otherwise?" say the Russian officers; "the stick is a sure and positive thing; there is no escaping it, and its effect is terrible; while the enemy's ball is uncertain; besides, a man may resist the latter, but not his commander."—"It is the flesh that rebels in man, it is therefore the flesh that must be quelled," said the professor mentioned above. It was apparently in accordance with this maxim, that he one day persuaded a Russian officer to make a report to his superiors, charging himself with drunkenness, and they actually put him under arrest for six months. What is more barbarous than to beat a man? Nothing, unless it be to set one's self up for the apologist of such a proceeding, to erect it into a system.

We will take leave to ask the learned pro-

fessor how it happens that, in the Russian guard, where the stick is less and less used, and cannot, or at least ought not, to be inflicted without judgment, the *ésprit de corps* and moral courage of the soldier are so much improved? Why was the Russian soldier, in the time of Catherine, when the stick was very little used, renowned for his valour? Why, in short, has the army which has gained most victories, the French army, never known so unworthy a practice? How is it, again, that in general, in war time, officers are obliged to change their treatment of the soldier, and to be much less cruel in all that relates to discipline? It is because in the day of battle their own balls are not to be distinguished from the enemy's, and more than one outrage has been revenged in the blood of an officer too unjust or too severe, without the possibility of discovering the hand by which it was spilt.

It is impossible to conceive all the ill usage to which the Russian soldier is exposed on the part of his superiors, high and low. Without

pay, without suitable food, overwhelmed with oppression and stripes, he is destined beforehand to the hospital and a premature death. Hence the Russian army loses nearly as many men in time of peace as in time of war, and during the reign of Nicholas the recruitings have been continued without intermission.

Next to the want of instruction in the officers, the weak side of the Russian army is in the want of intelligence in its soldiers; and the superiority of the French army is owing precisely to the combination of these two means of success. Those days are past when physical strength alone decided the victory; and intelligent bayonets have now an incontestable preponderance. It is the intelligence of the French soldiers that has metamorphosed the military art. Guided by that, the French soldiers, during the great revolution, unable to withstand the numerous legions of their coalesced enemies, broke out of the ranks and dispersed themselves as tirailleurs; the courage of the masses was paralyzed by this innovation.

At Tilsit, Napoleon betrayed to Alexander this grand secret of French tactics. It was first imitated by the Prussians; the Russians afterwards adopted it: but that intelligence which had invented this method, and which can invent something else every day, that intelligence which teaches the soldier how to extricate himself from all dangers, and which assists him in all difficulties, is not to be borrowed; it is naturally developed and has not yet been successfully counterbalanced by that savage instinct of the Russians, the instinct of self-preservation and divination, which the enemy has often had occasion to admire in them. Neither are they destitute of intelligence; every courageous man is intelligent, and nobody denies the courage of the Russian soldier. His spirit is merely bowed down beneath the stick; and if he were ever to have officers capable of appreciating him, he would be the first soldier in the world. In this respect, the army and the whole nation are in the same predicament.

A Russian officer residing in Paris made a report concerning the spirit of the French army which highly pleased the Emperor. His Majesty decorated him, and, wishing his army to profit, at least in part, by this so highly vaunted spirit, he introduced into it the *free step*, which, in fact, forms a singular contrast with its name. Nothing was ever seen more stiff and awkward than this step and the jerk of the arm with which it is accompanied.

It is the officers that make the army. The best army in the world was the Prussian army under Frederick II., the French army under Napoleon, the Russian army under Souvorof. Now, that which the Russian army at present wants is precisely good officers and able generals. In Russia, genius needs to be noble in order to raise itself above the obscure ranks of the army, and to place itself at its head; and military nobles, even when they seriously pursue their profession, are not so liberally endowed by genius as by the social organization.

If we consider separately the different arms of which the Russian army is composed, we shall find that its artillery is excellent, manœuvring with celerity but with more resolution than precision: it fires well enough for a battle, ill enough in a siege. The Russian cavalry is one of the best mounted, and is surpassed by the Hungarian cavalry alone: it particularly excels in the alignement; but the soldiers are too much cramped in their uniforms, all made to one size, to be at ease on horseback. The Cossacks are a cavalry peculiar to Russia, and which attempts have been made in vain to imitate elsewhere, in Austria, for example, and in France, under Napoleon. It is a whole nation on horseback; every individual acquires the habit of riding from his childhood, and makes, in fact, but one with his steed. The Cossacks are of great utility for the service of the advanced posts, for reconnoitring and harassing the enemy; but in mass they are of no value: a company of regular infantry easily repulses the attack of a whole regiment

of Cossacks. The Russian infantry is justly famed for its firmness and perseverance. In general, in a body, the Russian soldier is excellent; but taken separately, he loses himself. It is requisite for him, more than any other, to feel the contact of his neighbour, and to hear the voice of his officer. He is a machine, inured to fatigue, obedient to the least sign, unique in its kind for the precision of its movements, but which is good for nothing when its spring is deranged. Every Russian corps without officers is a body without soul. "Kill the blacks," said the Turks, meaning the Russian officers, "and it will be all up with the grays (the soldiers.)"

The Russians have a system of tactics of their own. They are too stanch *Romans* to acknowledge the superiority of other nations in this point, or to adopt all their principles. Accordingly, they disapprove Napoleon's system of marching into the heart of a country and disregarding the fortresses. The capital, according to them, is but strategical point;

and in proof of this they adduce Moscow, the fall of which did not entail that of the empire. The capture of that city was, nevertheless, a thunderbolt for Russia; besides, every nation cannot sacrifice its capital, neither has it at its service a severe winter, which ensures the disorganization of a hostile army that is scantily provisioned. Of what service were the sieges of the Russian fortresses in 1828, but to prolong the war and to increase its disasters?

On another equally important point in tactics, the concentration of masses, the Russian generals are mostly ignorant. Paskevitsch alone practised it in a trifling degree at the commencement of the campaign in Poland. It is to Souvorof that the Russians incessantly refer on every point relating to the military art; and it is to him that they attribute the honour of having best comprehended the character of the Russian soldier. He made the priming of his cannon of human flesh, never spared the troops, marched to victory

over piles of dead, and fought on the day of battle as fiercely as the meanest of his soldiers; thus making the fate of a campaign, of a war, of a country, dependent on a single shot. Such tactics are too cruel or too rash to deserve commendation; yet this is the only thing that the partisans of Souvorof borrow from him, incapable of copying him in his best points—that principle, for example, that it is necessary to destroy in its origin every assemblage of the enemy, by bearing down upon the spot where it is forming with great celerity, and before it has become dangerous.

Men are still held so cheap in Russia that more than once, at Leipsic, at Varna, in the Caucasus, when a Russian detachment, on the point of succumbing, has been liable to occasion the loss of an entire corps, volleys of grape-shot have been poured on Russians and enemies, mowing down both alike.

Nowhere has the mania of parades and exercises of all kinds and denominations been carried to such a length as in Russia. Excess

in what is good is itself an evil, and the good alluded to here is extremely doubtful; for practical utility is not what is kept most in view in these sorts of manœuvres. One ought to have seen the Russian foot-soldier lifting his leg for a quarter of an hour to set it down again on the ground with the same formality and the same slowness; to have witnessed the complicated exercises which the heaviest horse-soldiers perform on foot; to have seen the Russian officer at the head of his platoon twist himself like a litter-horse, in order to be convinced that a man of any other nation would not submit to such a manœuvre, which is frequently akin to degradation and tends to brutalize. This it is that forms *par excellence*, the favourite amusement as well as the most assiduous occupation of Nicholas, and likewise of all the princes of the Imperial family. It is the art, and the only art, in which they excel. A corps of nearly a hundred thousand men is specially reserved for the diversion of the Emperor, and this

diversion is most expensive, for the guard absorbs the greater part of the material and moral force of Russia. There it is that the sons of the wealthiest families ruin themselves, and each regiment of the guard costs twice as much as a regiment of the line. If the Emperor would at least divide his favours among the different corps of the army, and call them by turns into garrison in his residence, they would all improve in bearing and elegance, and the country would be a gainer by it.

The recruiting takes place annually; the levies are of five recruits to a thousand souls; there are also extraordinary recruitings at such times and in such proportions as the supreme power thinks fit to assign to them.

All individuals subject to personal impost are subject also to the recruiting, such as the peasants of all kinds and the bourgeois properly so called. The following are exempt from it: the traders of the three guilds, the carriers who inscribe themselves as traders,

the citizens who hold the elective functions, or who are engaged in the trade to the Caucasus, beyond the line of the quarantines; the peasants of the Crown who have filled public offices for nine years, the pupils of the orphan-houses and of the foundling hospitals, unless they are condemned to be soldiers; those of the agricultural farm of the ministry of the domains, if they have become overseers, during the whole time that they are in office; and the sons of the mayor of the *voloste*, so long as they are not separated from their father. The native inhabitants of Siberia, the Samoyedes in the government of Archangel, and the colonists of certain classes, are likewise exempt from the recruiting.

The inhabitants of Archangel, those of the countries bordering on Austria and Prussia for an extent of a hundred wersts, the free agriculturists of the government of Mohilev, the Tartars of the government of Astrakhan, foreigners settled in the Tauride, the workmen of Narva and certain thinly peopled districts,

enjoy the privilege of liberating themselves on paying three hundred silver rubles for each recruit. The Lopares of the district of Kola, and the pupils who have completed their courses at the technological institution, may ransom themselves for one hundred and fifty silver rubles.

The age required for being a soldier is fixed at from twenty to thirty-five years. The nobles who wish to make soldiers of some of their serfs in addition to their contribution, can get them admitted from eighteen to forty.

In the same family, the bachelor passes before the married son, the elder before the youngest, one who has no children before another who has. Between those who are married and have children the parents decide, and, in default of them, the lot determines. Exceptions may be made to these rules by general consent. The family which has but one working member furnishes no recruits, unless one-third of the families are in this predicament, and then one recruit is levied out of all these families together.

In each government, there is a committee which specifies the places where recruiting offices *(rékroutskoié pritsoutstvié)* are to be established. There are as many as four in the most populous governments, and there must always be one in the chief town. The latter is composed of the president of the chamber of finances, the marshal of the district, the councillor of the chamber of finances, who directs the section of revision, a military *employé*, and a medical *employé*.

The citizens of each town, the peasants of the Crown in each union of villages, the properties of each lord in the same government, form separate recruiting districts. If a district of citizens has not the required number of inhabitants for furnishing a recruit, it remains debtor to the State for a fraction proportional to its population, and it pays at the next recruiting, or whenever it happens to owe an entire man. If the district is composed of peasants of the Crown, it pays in money; and if the share coming to it is above one-fourth

of a recruit, it is obliged to furnish a man, who is accounted for at the next recruiting.

The Russian villages of the Caucasus, which have suffered from the insurrection of the mountaineers, and have had men killed, wounded, or carried off, are authorized to substitute Tscherkessian prisoners for their recruits, at the rate of two for one.

Each recruit must measure two arschines three verschoks. Certain districts of Wologda, Archangel, and Perm, enjoy a remission of one verschok. The recruits admitted have the front, and those who are rejected the back of the head shaved. The peasants of the same district may become substitutes for one another, and any free man may make himself a substitute for money.

Chapter XI.

THE CAUCASUS.

The Caucasus has several points of resemblance with Algeria. In one, as in the other, Christianity is struggling with Islamism, civilation with barbarism. The climate of both these uncultivated countries is equally fatal to Europeans: heat and fever decimate their ranks in both. This resemblance is partially found even in the habits and manners of the two countries, and in the arms and stuffs, which indicate the same tastes. The East, Islamism, the Turkish character, have every where stamped their seal. Abdel-Kader, the Arab chieftain, has a worthy and fortunate rival in

Schamile, the chief of the Circassians, and the moral power which these two extraordinary men exercise over their people, excites respect even in their foes; but there ends the resemblance. The Circassian is terrible in a different way from the Arab, and the Caucasus is mountainous otherwise than Algeria. Hence, while the French troops in Africa have suffered very little from the enemy, there is not a crest, a defile, a stream, in the Caucasus that has not been drenched and dyed with Russian blood. The Circassians defend most obstinately every foot of ground, and they are still far from acknowledging the superiority of the Russian arms and civilization. In consequence, while Algiers is merely a means of occupying the French army, an occasion of distinction and promotion for its officers, the Caucasus is for the Russian army an ever-yawning grave, which swallows up its officers, and wears out its generals; and we much fear that all the courage and energy which the Russians display in this warfare, will be absolutely thrown away.

Nothing excites such pity as to see the Russian soldier, the fair-complexioned child of the snowy desert, battling with the son of the mountains, nimble as the deer, hard as the rock, rapid as lightning. Nothing is more melancholy than to see Russian tactics pitted against the wild bravery of the Circassians. The most skilful dispositions are frequently frustrated by the abrupt movements of the Tscherkesses, who have no tactics but their courage and cunning. The invaders have not, neither can they have, any topographical map of the Caucasus, which defies every sort of appreciation, or at least the means which the Russians employ for taking plans; and the interior of the country is totally unknown in every respect. Nobody has yet penetrated into the gorges of the mountains; the natives themselves are acquainted with only part of them, and have but confused ideas of the general whole. The most enterprizing emissaries have as yet explored but a few localities. The Russian troops, therefore, march in the dark,

and at random; while the Circassians act with a perfect knowledge of what they are about. They fall like lightning upon the Russian columns, even when these have number and ground in their favour, and like lightning they instantly vanish in the clefts of their rocks. Frequently, too, they conceal themselves among the rushes which cover the banks of their rivers, and form, as it were, impenetrable forests; thence they attack sometimes the head of the Russian columns, sometimes the rear, which they contrive to destroy, or merely send a few balls, which never fail to hit their mark, and seek the officers in preference; they then bury themselves among the reeds, and all attempts to find them are fruitless. At other times they hide in the thick, gloomy forests, which Nature has planted for their defence. The Russians, before they venture to penetrate into them, pour forth a tempest of cannon-balls, and then send tirailleurs thither. Nothing indicates the presence of the enemy; the column enters the wood; in-

stantly the trees become instinct with life; the balls shower upon the Russian soldiers, who either fall in mass, or are forced to betake themselves to flight.

The Circassians rarely venture into the plain, their attempts of this kind having cost them very dear. In 1828 they crossed the Cuban to the number of 12,000. The Cossacks of the Black Sea, forewarned of their attack, received them on this occasion with a murderous discharge of grape-shot, and, having cut off their retreat, made a horrible carnage among them. Such as escaped the slaughter were drowned in the Cuban or buried in the marshes on the other side of that river. The number of cuirassed horsemen who perished in this affair was remarkably considerable. It is related that, on this occasion, the Circassians had hurried to the combat hugging their sabres to their sides, with shouts of "Come, Mary beyond the Cuban!" meaning by that name the Cossack women, who tempt them more than their own, though so renowned for

their beauty. This singularity is met with, it is true, among the polished nations; the foreign type, owing to the attraction of novelty, frequently gaining the preference before real beauty.

In the month of September, 1838, the Circassians fell unawares upon Kislovodsk, still full of visitors who had come to use the mineral baths. They sacked the two houses which stood most forward in the plain, killed the inhabitants, slaughtered the small body of guards which happened to be at hand, and retired delighted with this bold enterprize; but the piquets had already apprized General Sass of this attack. Swift as lightning, he cut off their retreat with a handful of Cossacks of the line, and four hundred Tscherkesses paid with their lives for this rash incursion.

It is only when the Russians have gone into winter-quarters that the Circassians venture upon the attack of forts in considerable bands. The courage of the Russian garrisons has frequently, in such cases, been required to make

amends for the smallness of their number. By this time too the mountaineers have learned to make a better use of cannon; formerly, the Russian pieces which fell into their hands were retaken in the very first affair, and turned against themselves.

The Circassians deserve the character of excellent marksmen, and the Russian officers are the first victims of their skill. These perish in very considerable number, a number, indeed, quite disproportionate to that of the soldiers. It has frequently been found necessary to make them wear the great coat of the latter to save them from the enemy's balls; but this precaution is repugnant to their valour; and, while it is but optional, they not only disdain it, but even make an ostentatious display in their dress. The white cap is the one which they prefer, and a close coat of damask of the country is their habitual costume. Discipline allows them full latitude on this point.

The Circassian fusil is of extraordinary

length, and is adapted to a support, or even to the hilt of the sword, the point of which is thrust into the ground; it is very true; the ball is small and of copper. Lead and powder are scarce, so that it is not uncommon to see the natives give an ox for two or three pounds of powder, and they will confront the greatest dangers in the attack of forts where the magazines of ammunition promise them a valuable booty. The Circassian sword is of wonderful temper, rounded like a half-sword, and without hilt to guard the hand. The Russians have conceived that they could not do better than to adopt it for certain corps of their cavalry, and in the Caucasus their officers use it in preference.

In the Russian army, the Cossacks of the Line, as they are called, are the troops most capable of coping with the Circassians. Living close to them, they have adopted their customs, their dress, and their arms, and rival them in dexterity as well as speed. The Cossacks of the Black Sea, though less useful,

have made themselves respected, which is by no means the case with their brethren of the Don, who have become a theme for raillery to the Tscherkesses, as well on account of their red vests as for their absolutely feminine timorousness: the mountaineers slaughter them like sheep. The Russian foot-soldier is indeed to be pitied in this war so unsuited to his nature. When he does not feel his neighbour's elbow, he is done up; and where he is not engaged in breaking or in repelling masses by masses, he is of no use. Partisan warfare, the war of tirailleurs, takes him at unawares. His havresack at his back, armed with a wretched musket, which he fires quite at random, with a sword which does not deserve the name, the bayonet is of little use to him, and more than one soldier has been seen despatched by the sword of a Circassian, whom he had pierced with his bayonet, because he could not draw it out quickly enough. Opposed to such an adversary, the Circassian is a hero of fable; rarely missing his man, using the pistol after dis-

charging his fusil, playing with the dagger as well as with the sword; born and bred to war, and for war, he is also a ferocious beast, revelling in carnage, indomitable and intractable. Brave as his blade, nimble as his steed, subsisting on a handful of rice, fanatic as the Mussulman, blood-thirsty as a pagan, fighting for his independence amidst inaccessible mountains, he may flatter himself that he shall make any one repent who attempts to subdue him. Violence can effect nothing with him; he delights in the sight of blood: on the grave of every brother slain by a christian he places a mark, which he does not remove till he has revenged his death by that of an enemy. Civilization with all its seductions has no charms for these men, and they shut their hearts against every feeling that might endanger their independence. The Circassians enrolled among the Russian troops retain all their nationality and the warmest love of their country. The very boys, who, carried to St. Petersburg, brought up in the Greek religion,

were afterwards sent to their own country as missionaries, flung their books into the first Circassian river, and returned to their homes with the sentiments which they had carried away with them, and frequently with increased hatred of the Russians; at other times their brethren have made cartridges with the bibles of the Russian emissaries. Hence people are convinced that it is better to tolerate their religion, and the Circassian cadets at Petersburg have a moullah who comes to instruct them in their faith.

Divided into tribes independent of each other, at times obeying merely the commands of a prophet or a moullah whom they believe to be inspired, or a prince who finds means to gain an influence over them, if they could ever forget their intestine quarrels and range themselves under one and the same banner, no power in the world could conquer them. The best thing, therefore, that the Russians could do is not to suffer the influence of Schamile to increase, in hopes that the severity

which he exercises to keep the different tribes that obey him under his authority, will urge them to shake off his yoke and to rid themselves of him, but to foment and take advantage in every possible way, of the dissensions of these tribes and their chiefs; for hatred among these savages is so fierce that Circassians have been known to join the ranks of the Russians and fight their old friends, their brothers, their uncles, with a rancour that nothing can equal.

Every Circassian carries arms, and among the slain have frequently been found women, who had astonished the Russians by their intrepidity. Hence it is no more possible to ascertain the number of their combatants than that of the inhabitants in general. Though the latter is computed at a million only, that is assuredly more than is needed to paralyze, in so mountainous a country, all the enterprizes of the Russian army, even though it were increased to double or treble the force at present employed in the Caucasus.

In this war no quarter is given; the harshest slavery is the lot of the Russian prisoners; and to withhold from the Circassians the pecuniary means of prolonging the war, the Government has adopted the principle of not ransoming them. If the Russians were to treat their Tscherkessian prisoners better than they now do—for they rarely fail to beat them cruelly as soon as they are taken—they might hope to see their number increase. Meanwhile the courage and the fanaticism of the Circassian cause him very often to put an end to his life rather than surrender to the Russians. One day a Circassian, after his horse had been killed under him, found himself surrounded by about twenty officers of the Russian guard. Resolutely presenting his fusil, he manifested a determination to dispatch the first who should approach him. The officers consulted whether one of them should encounter the danger, or whether they should all rush upon him at once, and leave to their gallant adversary the choice of his victim. They adopted

the latter course; but, on the first forward movement, the Circassian flung his piece on the ground, and stabbed himself with his dagger. On examining the fusil, they found that it was not even charged.

The Circassians employ the fusil in the same manner as Europeans use the sword or sabre, with extraordinary address. The Cossacks of the line imitate them in this, as in everything else, and a hill is still pointed out on which both parties fought with the fusil with equal desperation. At the moment when three hundred Cossacks of the line had reached the summit, they perceived several thousand Circassians advancing towards them. The officer would have fled, but his brother detained him; and this handful of brave fellows sustained the attack with courage. All perished; and when the field of battle was inspected, it was found that the Cossacks had sold their lives dearly, for they had made a circular mound of carcases around them. The oldest of the Cossacks, and at the same time

the most expert in the management of the fusil, had fallen furthest advanced in the enemy's ranks, after breaking his weapon in several places; and, when dead, his hand still grasped the beard of a Tscherkess. The Russian soldier, on his part, uses the but of his piece almost as cleverly as the Circassian does the barrel; he prefers it to the bayonet, with which, he says, you can kill but one man at a time, whereas with the but you may knock down two or three at a single blow. Hence, on a day of battle, most of the Russian buts are broken, and the soldier frequently applies to his officer for permission to return his musket. The Poles had the same predilection for fighting with the but, which has thus become a favourite practice with the Slavonians; and it certainly requires some strength to wield the weapon in this way with facility.

Since the annexation of Georgia and the cession of the Persian provinces, the Russians occupy the two faces of the chain of the Caucasus, which they thus coop up on both sides.

The interior of the mountains is composed of arid rocks, fit at most, for pasturing the flocks which supply the wants of the poor Tscherkessian tribes. Is this really sufficient to tempt the conquerors, especially when war in this country demands such sacrifices in men and money? I have no doubt that, if the mountaineers were left to themselves, they would remain quiet, and would be glad to live on peaceful terms with the Russians, and to cultivate an intercourse profitable for both parties. The truces, short and transient as they have been, confirm me in this opinion. It is always the vexations and rapacity of the Russian *employés* that have provoked the insurrections of the natives; and the abuses must have been atrocious to urge the Circassians to prefer the calamities of war to the repose of peace. It is owing to this cause that Dagliestan, from being a tranquil province, has become the haunt of the most implacable enemies of Russia; that the Tschetschenses have risen more than seven times in ten

years; and that the place where Schamile resides has been more than five times in the possession of the Russians, without their being able to keep it. The Circassians dwelling at the foot of the mountains ostensibly recognize the power of Russia, but, in the intervals between the campaigns, they lend a helping hand to the mountaineers, and assist them in the attack of the forts. If no cause of complaint were given them, they would not expose themselves to danger by attempts which the Russians have the power to punish severely. Hitherto, capitulations have been too easily granted, whereas the energetic repression of insurrections would have the infallible effect of abridging the calamities of war.

With the means and the men at present employed, the war in the Caucasus is a sterile war, and the obstinacy with which the Russian government persists in its continuance, will only serve to produce bloodshed, to embitter animosities, and to render reconciliation impossible. The war that it ought above all

things to wage, is with its own *employés*, who are its greatest enemies, and who, after provoking the conflict, render it so fatal by plundering and robbing without mercy. They sell the very powder to the enemy. They conceal the number of the dead, and the army of the Caucasus is so wretchedly supplied, that there is not a single surgery deserving of that name. The generals, on their part, protract the war, to retain a source of emolument and promotion; and, while there are no soldiers who understand how to fire, the loss will always be on the side of the Russians, their artillery being of no use to them in this wholly irregular warfare.

At the commencement of the present reign, there was in the Caucasus General Yermolov, whose name alone was a terror to the Circassians, while it is still held in veneration by the Russians. Intrigue occasioned his recall. His pupil, General Wiliaminof, could have continued his system and caused his removal to be less sensibly felt, if he had been free in his

actions; but, fettered by the General-in-Chief, Baron Rosen, and by the ministry, he was obliged to confine himself to the execution of their orders. The negligence and the abuses laid to the charge of General Rosen, led to his dismissal. General Golovine, who succeeded him, managed, during his command in the Caucasus, to maintain the superiority of the Russian arms, and to erect some advanced forts, among which that named after him is of great utility. Being soon disgusted with a post more toilsome than glorious, he gave it up to Baron Neidhardt, whose German pedantry fixed his attention upon trifles and endangered important points. The hopes of the country have been revived by the appointment of Count Worontzof, who, invested with a discretionary power, has an immense advantage over all his predecessors. Having displayed some military ability in the campaign in France, and some administrative skill in his post of Governor-General of New Russia, he appears to justify the choice which has been

made of him. But one failing, peculiar to him, is that of being as unfortunate in the choice of his agents as he is obstinate in keeping them. Now, all the calamities of the Caucasus spring precisely from the knavery of the functionaries who have hitherto been employed there; and, as much more is expected from the administrative measures than from the military enterprizes of Count Worontzof, there is reason to fear that his efforts will not always be crowned with success. His entry upon his functions was marked by a measure which cannot be censured too severely. Long before his appointment, some Circassian chiefs had solicited permission to carry on the slave-trade in the Black Sea. Not so much out of humanity as not to afford them the means of enriching themselves, their application was refused. By complying with it, Count Worontzof conceives that he has disposed them in favour of Russia; but Tscherkessian gratitude is not a thing upon which the Russians can rely; and it is to be regretted that a civilized

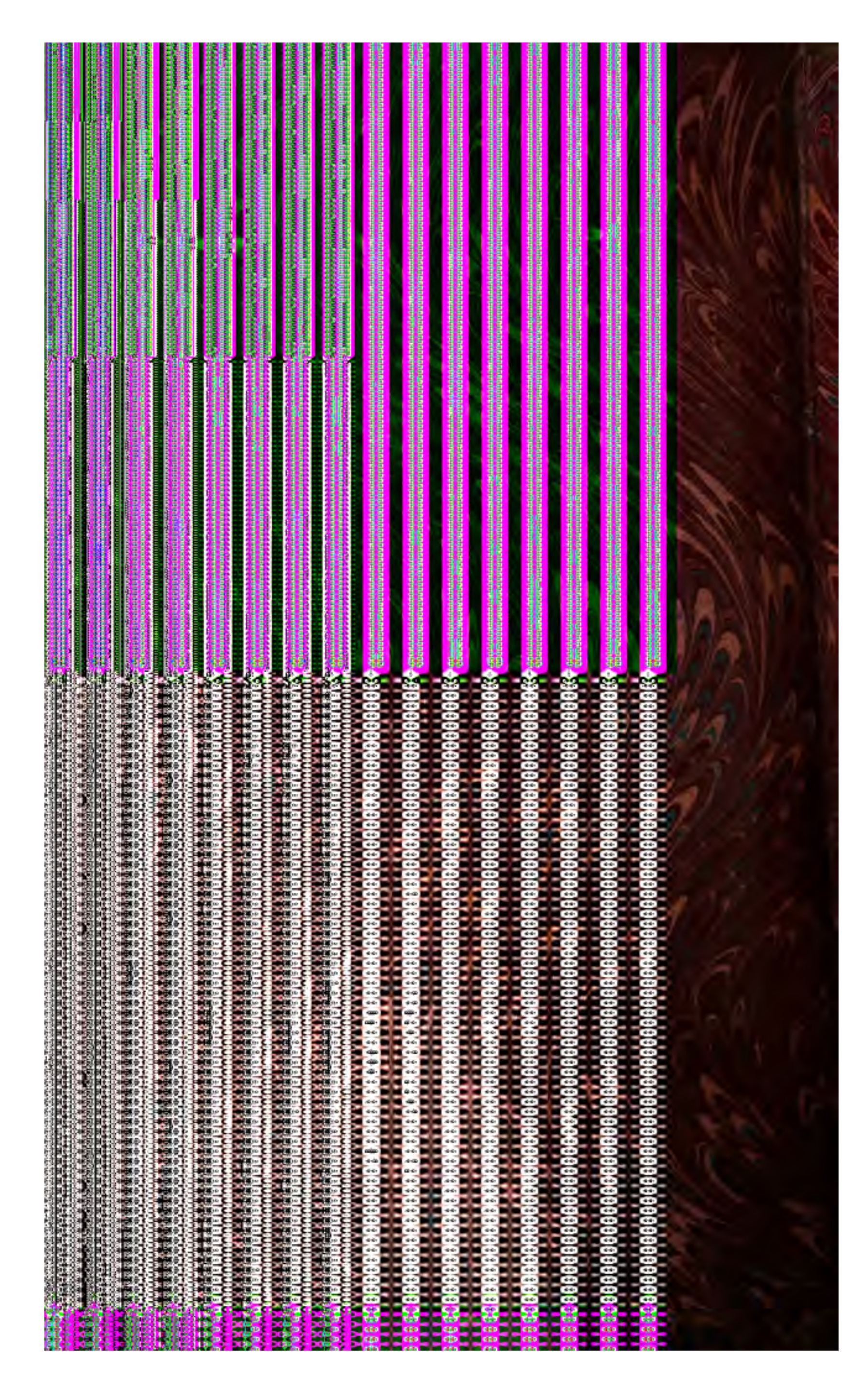
man has deemed it right to yield to considerations far from courageous for authorizing the violation of a law of humanity and re-establishing the white slave-trade, at the same time that the Russian Government is protesting against the traffic in blacks.

Schamile appears to be one of those superior men whom the wars of independence have frequently produced. He has already more than once made the Russians severely repent having suffered him to return to his mountains. Being taken prisoner in 1828, with Kasi-Moullah, his master and predecessor, he was long confined in a Russian fort, and liberated with other prisoners solely because they were all believed to be inoffensive. His son has since fallen into the hands of the Russians, who are educating him with the cadets at St. Petersburg. This chief exercises a magic influence over his countrymen, by force and by money, as much as by his moral ascendency. Chaste, like all men, who have a high mission to fulfil, he disdains the law of

the Prophet, which authorizes the keeping of a numerous harem, and devotes his wealth to the maintenance of his life-guards, whom he makes use of to excite the Circassian tribes against the Russians.

THE END.

London: Harrison and Co., Printers, St. Martin's Lane.




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